

THE BIBLICAL REVIEW

QUARTERLY

Vol. XV

APRIL, 1930

No. 2

EDITORIAL

HUMANISM, OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY KIND, threatens to become a cult. The term has come to signify something quite different from the Humanism of the fifteenth century. In the middle ages minds were so dominated by scholastic theology and philosophy that at last the very instinct for freedom led to a revolt. Hungry for knowledge, men turned to the direct study of the ancient classics, and this initial development of subjects of concrete human interest, in contrast to ecclesiastical and speculative questions, came to be known as Humanism.

We find a survival of this sense of the term in present day higher education, where the classics are sometimes referred to as the humanities. However, Comte and others so stressed the value of human interests, as opposed to the idea of any divine element in life, that the meaning of the word underwent a change. Instead of connoting simply the higher human interests, aside from any particular attitude toward the supernatural, Humanism came to signify anti-theistic views. The present Humanist may or may not affirm the existence of God, but he puts the emphasis on human life and its enrichment.

The recent sudden revival of the term, with this later significance emphasized, is the occasion of Dr. Wyckoff's

paper, Modern Humanism. Incidentally he reveals at the outset the widespread interest in the subject. It is also shown that this Humanism peculiarly responds to the modern temper, offering a pleasing but false philosophy for a sound and historical religion.

Dr. Wyckoff devotes himself chiefly, however, to following the development and meaning of the revived Humanism of the day and to exposing its weaknesses and inconsistencies. This paper as a whole summons the Christian ministry to prepare to come to grips with an ancient enemy under a modern name, and it also makes a valuable contribution to such preparation.

HISTORY AND ITS TWIN SUBJECT, BIOGRAPHY, ARE VERITABLE treasure mines for anyone, layman or scholar, who seeks to broaden his comprehension of life. So important and rich is the history of Christianity that it is a distinctly recognized branch of learning.

Yet our modern church members seem quite content to neglect the impressive records of the mighty struggles and achievements and the sublime personalities of all the centuries from the days of the apostolic church to our own time. For this the Protestant pulpit is largely to blame. It seems to have overlooked the fact that periods in the history of the church are acts in a vast divine drama, and that the lives of its saints and leaders are full of exalted romance.

Some weeks ago Dr. Arthur J. Brown, long known as one of the secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, delivered an address at The Biblical Seminary upon The Practical Value of Church History, and it had such a favorable reception that he was requested to adapt it to publication. It appears in this issue.

In the course of his paper he takes up such topics as, the value of illustrations from history, practical methods suggested by history, the weapons furnished by history for the defense of the faith, the store of homiletic material in history, history's disclosure of the purposes of God in human affairs, how to make church history popular.

Any preacher properly ambitious to make his work more effective must realize from Dr. Brown's brief article how much his restudy of Christian history can do for his pulpit work and for inspiring the hearts and broadening the spiritual and moral perceptions of his people.

THERE IS ABROAD A SUPERFICIAL NOTION THAT THE great central doctrines of the Christian church have been gradually changing, although in fact the essential tenets of Christianity have been fixed from the beginning. They derive from the Scriptures, and are readily comprehended by the mind and heart of any man who reads his New Testament intelligently.

There has been a good bit of man-made interpretation and application of certain truths, but time has to a great extent cleared these away, at least for large sections of the church.

A largely overlooked witness to the unchanging character of the great doctrines of Scripture is brought to our attention by Mr. Monroe in his rather unusual paper, *The Evangelical Witness of Hymnology*.

Mr. Monroe prefaces his main theme with a few paragraphs upon the apologetic value of both the sermonic literature of all the Christian ages and their hymnology. Then he takes up examples of Christian hymns, beginning with one by Clement, Bishop of Alexandria, who

lived in the second century. This is followed in order by numerous selections that bring us down to our own times, and helpful comments make them the more striking.

The impressive thing about these metrical expressions of Christian belief and hope is, that they afford no evidence of a religion in evolution, but form a harmonious chorus of the Christian centuries in joyful and consistent testimony to "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints."

FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS THE BIBLICAL SEMINARY IN New York has, through its President, conducted during two months of each summer a series of ten-day group conferences at Columbiana-on-Lake George, the ample and beautiful property of the Seminary on that famous body of water. The members of these conferences are invited educators, ministers, journalists, and other leaders, who informally make the contributions of mature and trained minds upon the subject announced for the season.

Last summer the theme was The Protestant Reformation, and members of the group that happened to be in session during the last ten days in August presented certain comprehensive views of that great movement and its results which Professor Herman has gathered into a most readable summary under the heading, The Reformation as Seen through a Group Study.

It would be out of place here to attempt an outline of this outline. However, familiar as is the general subject, the reader will appreciate the compact and concise form into which the great Reformation facts and their significance have been put. It is somewhat on the principle of those moving pictures of the opening of a

flower, which accurately show the spectator in a few minutes what required days for actual development.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS of attention among Christian leaders of this generation, possibly the principal one. It is, then, a good time to look at the development of such work at the very outset of Protestant history. Dr. Wills gives us the opportunity to do this in *Religious Education in the German Elementary Schools of the Reformation Period*.

First we have a resumé of education in medieval Europe, and readers who have not specialized on that age may be surprised to find that there were no less than four types of elementary schools before the Reformation. The ecclesiastical influence of that time emphasized the teaching of religion, but the beginnings of secular education were not wanting. The Reformation, however, gave such an impetus to both these branches as amounted to a revolution, and the progress of this whole early educational movement is traced in this paper with painstaking care.

We see not only the important part the Scriptures had, but also that, for their better understanding, the classics were given a large place. The development of new universities, Luther's statesmanlike grasp of the necessity of popular education, the system he advocated, the elementary education of girls, the recognized importance of a laity trained as pastors in reserve, the influence of the Reformation upon general education, and the close relationship maintained in that day between religion and education are among other points dealt with.

This paper was submitted as the author's thesis when he received his doctorate, and was originally thoroughly

documented, but the numerous footnotes are here omitted as unnecessary for our present purpose. It will commend itself for its valuable historical material and for suggestions to those who are today following the early pioneers in this field.

FOUR NEW NAMES APPEAR AMONG OUR BOOK REVIEWERS in this number. The volumes under consideration are:

Outfitting the Teacher of Religion.—Snowden.

The Christian God.—Roberts.

The Primitive Church.—Streeter.

Religion.—Ames.

A History of Christian Missions in China.—Latourette.

The Hope of Israel: What Is It?—Mauro.

R. M. K.

MODERN HUMANISM

By ALBERT CLARKE WYCKOFF, D.D., Professor of Psychology of Religion in
The Biblical Seminary in New York

NO EVENT in the religious life of the year 1929 aroused such spontaneous comment from as wide a circle of different religious groups than the simple announcement made by Dr. Charles Francis Potter, that he had established the First Humanist Society, in New York. Jewish Rabbis, Roman Catholic cardinals, archbishops, missionaries, Episcopalian bishops and rectors, and representative religious leaders from both liberal and conservative branches of other denominations, even down to the officers of the Salvation Army, with one accord took occasion to express publicly their criticism of Humanism as a religion.

Such a normally insignificant incident in the religious life of New York as the fact that Dr. Charles Francis Potter, already well known for his many new religious ventures, had decided to add another to his list did not possess importance enough to occasion this widespread response. Its overwhelming magnitude amazed and bewildered Dr. Potter; he was not prepared for any such public criticism of his project. Its sweeping nature stung him into interpreting it as personal, so that he came forth with the charge that a gigantic conspiracy had been formed among all Theists to kill his cult. In this he was in error; for no conspiracy was formed against him and his religious venture. The Theists were not after him, but after Humanism.

A little later a second incident occurred, quite similar

in its features. The issue of *The Christian Century* for October 16, 1929, contained an article by Dr. John Haynes Holmes entitled *A Humanistic Interpretation of Prayer*. The genuine interest which was aroused by this article and the Editor's shrewd question, "Has Dr. Holmes Left Anything Out?" resulted in such a landslide of replies from eminent scholars and ministers that both Dr. Holmes and the editors were overwhelmed and the reading public amazed that in this twentieth century such a depersonalization of prayer could arouse so much protest. In this instance not even Dr. Holmes himself interpreted these replies as personally directed against him; anyone who read them could see that they were criticisms of the Humanistic interpretation of prayer.

These two incidents reveal the fact that there is no subject upon which the religious public is more sensitive than Humanism. Highly educated Theists of every religious group perceive in Humanism a religion that promises to become the one great rival of Theism. If science is ever going to realize its ambition of furnishing to humanity a new religion, Humanism will be that religion. It is geared to the intellectual and spiritual temper of the hour. It gathers up into its bosom intellectual, social, moral, and psychological elements which make a strong appeal to the modern scientifically molded mind. It draws its strength and inspiration from below instead of above, from the human instead of the divine. It releases its devotees from many of the embarrassing ethical and metaphysical entanglements which Theism imposes. And, on its theoretical side, it is able to rally to its support strong intellectual assistance.

It must be kept in mind, however, that modern

Humanism grows out of a new social situation, and is based upon a new psychological appeal. The Humanism of the fifteenth century espoused the cause of certain inalienable human rights against a church-dominated civilization which denied these to the common people. Political, social, economic, educational or religious freedom and equality stirred the hearts of its leaders. Today, in America at least, all these causes have been won. A new type of human has made his appearance. He feels himself as one among those who have mastered nature and economic conditions. He is self-confident, masterful, successful, aggressive, unreflective, practical, this-world-minded, primarily interested in increasing and enjoying his present possessions, comforts, pleasures. Living here and now in this present world has become abundantly worth while. Humanism as a religion fits this modern human in his successful moments. Theism, quite contrary to the psychologist's interpretation of its biological and psychological use, seems to him to interfere with the full functioning of self-interest, self-expression, self-realization, self-satisfaction; and it substitutes near and remote interests and values which tend to slow down his free spirit of living.

Add to this non-reflective attitude of the new human the tremendous influence of current popular literary and academic antitheistic interpretations of scientific progress in the physical and social sciences, and the ambition of many religious educational leaders and ministers to be classed as soundly scientific in their thinking, and you have a very favorable setting for Humanism as a religion. Naturalism, pragmatism, dynamism in philosophy, mechanism, and vitalism in biology; determinism and the social origin of religion in sociology; behavioristic, dynamic, and reaction psychology; and

the dynamic and social interpretation of history, can all be made to support Humanism. Theism finds an uncontrollable Presence in the universe, which interferes with the scientific ambition of universal human mastery of nature and life. Years ago Professor James described this attitude in this brilliant passage:

Certain of our positivists keep chiming to us, that, amid the wreck of every other god and idol, one divinity still stands upright—that his name is Scientific Truth, and that he has but one commandment, but that one supreme, saying, *Thou shalt not be a theist*, for that would be to satisfy thy subjective propensities, and the satisfaction of those is intellectual damnation [*The Will-to-Believe*, p. 131].

That the intellectual atmosphere of the academic world is unfriendly to Theistic religion needs no proof for those who live in it. And that Humanism and the social theory of religion are at present highly favored substitutes is undeniable. Humanism, rightly presented, possesses strong elements of emotional appeal. It has always been humanity's second strongest source of high appeal. Only Theism surpasses it. Jesus did not hesitate to evaluate these two, and to place them in their true relation. He said: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love they neighbour as thyself." (Matt. 22:37-39).

Theism centers its emotional appeal around these two commandments, in this order. Humanism rejects the first, and attempts to enlarge the second so that it will cover the whole field of religious experience. So here, once again, as in some form in every age, the human and the divine join battle. In a classical form this encounter is expressed by Zechariah in those familiar words: "I have raised up thy sons, O Zion,

against thy sons, O Greece." For in this international conflict these two religions are well represented. Historians are still puzzled to explain why the glory of Greece was so easily obscured for a thousand years by the triumph of Theism in its Christian form, and why it has never been revived, save as a glorious memory.

Modern Humanism is a French and American product. It owes its rebirth to Rousseau and his teachings which prepared the way for the French Revolution with its "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" ideals. In Theophilanthropy, which cult appeared and thrived for a few years during the last decade of the eighteenth century and first two of the nineteenth, we find the love of humanity elevated to the level of a cultus. Its confiscation of the buildings of the Roman Church, to be used to glorify the deeds of humanity, was stopped by Napoleon, and its death soon followed. Through Auguste Comte Humanism made its most creditable and impressive showing. No modern has approached Comte in presenting a thoroughly worked out scheme with intellectual and emotional elements essential for justifying the claim of Humanism as a religion. Comte realized that any religion that was to meet the ethical needs of mankind must possess belief in a great universal Being, with whom the human soul may communicate, and from whom it may receive strength to overcome egoism and to work for the common good. Does the idea of Humanism really satisfy this requirement? Professor Leuba, in his *Psychological Study of Religion*, has a paragraph in which Comte's claim is given at its best. And, as Professor Leuba is interested in Humanism, we will let him present this claim. After having pointed out that Comte replaces God by the *Grande Être*, Humanity, Leuba asks the question with

which we are concerned, "But does this idea of Humanity really satisfy the two requirements of an adequate religion?" He refers to the requirements of a Deity and immortality. We give his reply in full:

Yes, thinks Comte, provided the *Grande Être* is properly understood. Humanity thought of as merely the collection of the men actually living could not replace the idea of God. But Humanity is to be conceived as "a continuity; a solidarity in time composed of all the good and generous feelings, thoughts, and deeds of men. It is the supraspatial Being in which the tutelary influences and the groping and transitory individual efforts are purified and organized, and thus, becoming fixed and permanent, acquire immortal life." "Humanity so understood is the God whom men seek: a real, immense, and eternal existent with whom they are in relation and in whom they live and have their being. Out of the reservoir of moral forces accumulated in that Being throughout the centuries, great thoughts and noble feelings flow out to man. Humanity is the Great Being who lifts us up above ourselves and communicates to us the complements of strength we require in order to overcome our egoistic leanings." [*A Psychological Study of Religion*, p. 308.]

One will search without success modern Humanistic literature for a clearer statement of the qualifications of Humanism as a religion. And yet, what has been the answer of history to these claims? To avoid any suspicion of being unfair to Humanism I will allow Professor Leuba to answer my question. He does it in this paragraph:

But can this idea of a power made manifest in society and leading to social consolidation and happiness take hold of the mind and heart of the masses of men; can it inspire them with hope, trust, courage; can it wake up in them dormant possibilities? Comte believed that his Supreme Being was "more readily accessible to our feelings, as well as to our thinking" than the "chimerical beings of the existing religions." Yet the history of the Religion of Humanity seems to give a negative answer to my query. The Religion of Humanity has had and still has a number of ardent disciples, but it has not spread

beyond very small circles, in Paris, London, and in some of the South American countries. Christian Science, on the other hand, though loaded with delusions, gives signs of irrepressible vitality. [*A Psychological Study of Religion*, p. 310.]

The inherent strength and weakness of Humanism, Thomas Huxley, another writer sympathetic with Comte's social idealism, has described in one of his articles on Agnosticism. As he represents a closer historical relation we will let him give his reaction. As to its strength, he writes:

That a man should determine to devote himself to the service of humanity—including intellectual and moral self-culture under that name; that this should be, in the proper sense of the word his religion—is not only an intelligible, but, I think, a laudable resolution. And I am greatly disposed to believe that it is the only religion which will prove itself to be unassailably acceptable so long as the human race endures.

As a social and ethical concept he approves the scheme. But, when Comte proposes to transform this concept into a religion, and to employ the technic of religion to sanctify it, Huxley protests, and continues:

But when the positivist asks me to worship "Humanity"—that is to say, to adore the generalized conception of men as they ever have been and probably ever will be—I must reply that I could just as soon bow down and worship the generalized conception of a "wilderness of apes." . . . No divinity doth hedge a modern man, be he even a sovereign ruler. . . . But if there is no spark of worship-worthy divinity in the individual twigs of humanity, whence comes that godlike splendor which the Moses of Positivism fondly imagines to pervade the whole bush? [*Some Controverted Questions*, p. 288.]

This idea of trying to substitute for the God of the Theist the *Grande Être*, the spirit of humanity idealized, has been carried by modern Humanists to the point where they attempt to identify it as the true religion of Jesus. As great a psychologist as Dr. G. Stanley Hall in the last years of life devoted his genius to

this purpose. In his two monumental volumes entitled *Jesus Christ in the Light of Psychology* he gathers up his whole psychological interpretation of Jesus in this passage:

Jesus knew himself for what he was, and accepted himself as veritable man-God. God did not merely come to consciousness in him but was his own ipsissimal noumenal self, and what a postulate! God is man and man is God. . . . Man is the only begotten son of the cosmos. [Vol. I, p. 303.]

Those who estimate Humanism by its most recent sponsors are in danger of dismissing it too easily, as though it had no worthy intellectual support. This is a great mistake. Humanism in its social and ethical features has been advocated by almost every great thinker who, for some reason, has been disposed to reject Theism. Yet, notwithstanding such splendid intellectual support, it has failed to make any considerable appeal to the masses.

Anyone who has been keeping in touch with the development in the field of psychology of religion during the last thirty years will find nothing new in this modern flash of publicity. Every point made in these modern explanations of religious experience in terms of subjective wish-fulfillment mechanisms has been current for more than thirty years in that field. Turn back to Professor Leuba's degree thesis at Clarke University on *Religious Conversion*, published in *The American Journal of Psychology* in 1896. From beginning to end, this thesis adopts the antitheistic, subjective interpretation of all religious phenomena. And in it he gives a very clear and consistent description of the true Humanist, who accepts this psychological interpretation. It cannot be improved upon, so we will set it down.

Religious men there are who have no belief in an interven-

ing providence and consequently none in prayer. Responsibility they feel toward none but themselves and those affected by their doings. The mortality of the "ego" they possibly cannot hope for. Adoration, worship, devotion, piety, in the common acceptance of the term, are incompatible with these negations. Outwardly they have no cult, return no thanks, ask for nothing from the powers of the world for they know them to be deaf to supplication and insensible to human thankfulness. The most exalted religious consciousness is consistent with the negative intellectual creed sketched above.

In 1912 Professor Leuba wrote his great book, *A Psychological Study of Religion*. Nowhere can there be found a more thorough, conscientious, courageous presentation of the Humanistic interpretation of religious experience. In this work an effort is made to purge historic Humanism of its intellectual and emotional defects, and to furnish, in the light of experience and psychology, a scientifically and philosophically sound Humanism as the religion of the future. In the following quotations we will find this endeavor brought to its final expression:

Belief in a transhuman Power of the kind thus roughly outlined, together with a belief in the supremacy of the ethical ideal conceived as a social goal, would constitute a basis upon which a cult could hardly fail to develop, a cult similar to Comtism in that the divine would not be personified in a transcendent personal God, but would be progressively realized in Humanity. It would be superior to Comtism in that it would be free from the life-inhibiting propositions of naturalistic philosophy. [P. 331 f.]

Having set forth this ideal, the author now asks:

Would man find what he wants in a Power describable as an impetus coursing through matter and drawing from it what it can, a Power appearing in man in the form of striving consciousness? [p. 334].

The answer to this query is given somewhat fully in this passage:

There is no question but that Humanity idealized and conceived as a manifestation of Creative Energy possesses surpassing qualifications for a source of religious inspiration. Human relationships have always given rise to the noblest activities of man; they have been and remain the very fountain of life. . . . In Humanity each person can regard himself as a link in the chain connecting the hosts of the past with the hosts that are to come. The recognition of this vast relationship would give a sense of fellowship and unity, a feeling of responsibility and dignity; it would make a world worthy of one's best efforts. [P. 335.]

The book closes with this paragraph:

A religion in agreement with the accepted body of scientific knowledge, and centered about Humanity conceived as the manifestation of a Force tending to the creation of an ideal society, would occupy in the social life the place that a religion should normally hold,—even the place that the Christian religion lost when its cardinal beliefs ceased to be in harmony with secular beliefs [p. 336].

When modern Humanism seeks for its highest expression and intellectual defense it will turn to the works of Professor Leuba, for he has devoted his life to its establishment, starting with his degree thesis, following this with the work from which we have been quoting, adding to these his challenge to all Humanists to take the field in an offensive against belief in God and personal immortality, as hindering spiritual and moral progress, in his *Belief in God and Immortality*, and following this by his large work on *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism*. No phase of the subject has been ignored, and the whole treatment has been free from weak compromises and timid expressions of point of view. Yet no one knew better than Professor Leuba that this non-purposive "transhuman Power" coursing through matter until it appears in man as striving consciousness, together with the belief in the supremacy of the ethical ideal conceived as a social goal, involved

biological and metaphysical assumptions which were far from scientifically established or philosophically approved. When he discusses the philosophical basis necessary for religion he says:

There are, of course, appalling difficulties in the way of a formulation of a metaphysical conception adequate for present use in religion. How shall we conceive the transhuman Force of which humanity is an expression? What sort of existence does it have outside of human consciousness? What relation does this Power sustain to the material universe and to man, to good and to evil? If it is thought of as Purposive Intelligence, we are back in theism. The hoary puzzles all rise up and clamor for solution. [*Op. cit.* p. 332.]

To avoid being forced back into Theism by making his "transhuman Power" purposive, he admonishes his readers that, since the purpose of religion and metaphysics is not the same, religion need load itself with philosophical burdens no further than is necessary for its practical purpose. (See *Op. cit.* p. 333.) Then he makes this statement:

The religion of the future will have to rest content apparently with the idea of a non-purposive Creative Force, making of the universe neither an accidental creation nor one shaped in accordance with some preconceived plan [p. 334].

Humanism at its best encounters insuperable intellectual obstacles. Professor Leuba himself points out the fact that, wherever it is based upon a philosophy of Naturalism, it is destined to fail as a religion. This fact most modern Humanists have not yet discovered. One more quotation from Professor Leuba's book will help us to our next point. He writes:

A naturalistic philosophy is so far from satisfying the aspirations of the human heart that most of those who have embraced Naturalism have, unknown to themselves, retained idealistic elements. Examine the discourses of the disciples of Comte, even those of Comte himself, and you will discover

smuggled in under the names of *Grande Être* and Humanity the very concepts they condemn as illegitimate. [P. 326 f.]

The smuggling of which Professor Leuba is himself guilty is not likely to escape observation. His "trans-human Power," "Creative Force," "belief in the supremacy of the ethical ideal conceived as a social goal," and "a non-purposive Creative Force making of the universe neither an accidental creation nor one shaped in accordance with some preconceived plan," and yet one in which this "Power" coursing through matter appears in man as striving consciousness leading him onward toward the ethical ideal as the social goal—these Theistic elements the intellectual customs officers will demand must be honestly declared and paid for in the current coin of the Theistic realm.

This same criticism has been repeatedly passed upon Professor Ames' latest book, *Religion*. Noticeably in his chapters on God and Personality, Prayer, and Death and The Future. One passage from the chapter on Death and The Future will illustrate this point. He concludes a well considered statement of the Humanistic idea of social immortality with this interesting observation and advice:

Throughout the whole of experience there runs the limitation of man's knowledge and power. . . . He may lament his lot, or he may utilize what it offers, with zest and wisdom. . . . All the way he is intrusting himself to the encompassing life of God, and with God he may rest the final issues of both life and death. [P. 231 f.]

If Humanism as a religion could stick to its fundamental principles, if it could adopt psychology as its technique, then it might claim for itself scientific merit. But it always finds itself forced to use the technique of religion. When Professor Leuba wrote his degree

thesis, as has been shown, he was going to reduce religion to the technical control of scientific psychology. There was to be no cult, no worship, no prayer, none of the technical use of the psychological apparatus of religion. But when, later on, he wishes to make Humanism function as a religion, he says:

A religion of Humanity need not be lacking in the forms and symbols necessary to a practical religion. Without violence to reason, and with little demand upon the imagination, it could provide those human embodiments of power and virtue which man seeks for moral inspiration and uplift. Man has always been a hero-worshipper. Expressions of admiration and gratitude, of joy and sorrow, would find easily an appropriate place in a religion of Humanity. The sense of weakness and imperfection, the need of comfort and encouragement, the desire for the final triumph of good, are sentiments which might readily enough be collectively expressed in declarations addressed to the religious brotherhood, or even perhaps to the Ideal Society. And I see no sufficient reason why a religion of Humanity should not incorporate in a modified form elements of the therapeutic cults which have been found effective in the healing of mind and body. [*Op. cit.*, p. 335 f.]

From such a summing up of the demands which will be made upon Humanism, if it proposes to substitute for a real religion, one begins to realize that the problem is not as simple as sub-believers at first imagined. Every serious attempt to make Humanism function as a religion results in the same contradiction. In the psychological explanation of the phenomena of religious experience Humanism is rigidly featured. But the moment a philosophical basis is sought for Humanism, Idealism and Theism are smuggled in under the guise of semiscientific terms symbolically interpreted. The latest illustration of this unconscious self-deception is found in the article by John Haynes Holmes, to which reference has already been made. As long as Dr. Holmes confines his discussion to the psy-

chology of the prayer experience he is consistently Humanistic. So we read:

In the first place, prayer is the deliberate formulation in our minds of an idea of something that we need or want. . . . Secondly, prayer is the conscious, deliberate direction of our life-forces to the attainment of our desires. . . . This is prayer as viewed from the psychological, the humanistic standpoint. From beginning to end, it is an experience within ourselves. . . . But the prayer process is a human process, a normal process, a natural process. Our prayers are the expression of our lives, and their answer the achievement of our lives. Why bother with theology, or the traditions of theology, in an experience like this? [*The Christian Century*, Oct. 16, 1929.]

If Dr. Holmes had stopped at this point he would have stated the Humanistic interpretation of prayer in a form that could not have been questioned. But the moment he moved over into the field of symbolism and philosophy he began to entangle himself so completely that every correspondent whose letters were published took considerable delight in pointing out the places where he was caught smuggling in Theism. His use of poetic symbolism brought him to this statement:

When I pray to God I am not pointing to any deity in the clouds, or to any godhead among the stars. I am not thinking of anything special, or limited, or remote, or supernatural. Rather I am thinking of the universe, as Shelley thought of the skylark, that I may be lifted up above myself. I am reaching out to the universe, as Wordsworth reached back to Milton, that I may have help in the causes I would serve. I am calling to the universe, as Wordsworth called to Duty, that "my weakness (may) have an end." All of which is based upon the postulate that the spirit of man is akin to the spirit of the universe in itself, as well as in its myriad separate forms, and that "spirit with spirit can meet." [*Ibid.*]

When Dr. Holmes comes back with a reply to the flood of criticism which has been passed upon his first attempt at a Humanistic interpretation of prayer, the

editors of *The Christian Century* say that he puts into his interpretation of prayer this time what he left out first, and that he proves himself to be, not a Humanist, but a Theist. This second article he closes with this paragraph:

What I wanted to prove was that the humanist can pray whether he spoke his prayer to God or not. If the humanist objects I am sorry, for he is deliberately making his life poor. If the theist is dissatisfied I am again sorry for he claims more for himself than is his own. . . . I object to the theists having all the good experiences. Let the humanist throw away as many dogmas and as much language as he will, but let him claim for his own the higher uses of the religious life.

Most discussions of Humanism make the mistake of featuring the cold-blooded psychological explanations of the nature of religious experience which always introduce the so-called scientific strength of its claims, and then, by criticizing these, proceed to show its inadequacy as a religion. I have adopted the policy of giving the Humanist all the rope he wants and letting him carry his own discussions through from the psychological to the philosophical side. Without fail three stages are met: First, the clear-cut affirmation of religious experience as a natural process, beginning and ending within the human field; second, the attempt to meet the psychological requirements of the religious needs of humanity which forces the Humanist over into the symbolic and imaginative field; third, the attempt to provide a metaphysical basis for the technic of religion which has been employed. And, in every instance where the technic of religion is used, with cult, worship, prayer, and poetry functioning, Theism is smuggled in to make it work as a religion. This has been the psychological history of every religion that has started out to

be impersonal and naturalistic. And it awakens in the observing psychologist the suspicion that the Humanistic interpretation of religious experience has not reached the bottom of the problem.

The next stage in the psychological study of religious experience is going to parallel that of every other department of science in the twentieth century. It will devote itself to the discovery of those elements which previous study has left out. The Rt. Honorable Arthur James Balfour, in the Gifford Lectures of 1914, chose for his subject, *Theism and Humanism*. In this clear-cut and popular discussion of this subject he has called attention to a number of these neglected elements under the terms, Inevitable Beliefs, and Common-sense Beliefs. In the closing passage of the book, he sums up his criticisms of the unwarranted conclusions which Naturalism extracts from modern science and its method, in these words:

God must not thus be treated as an entity, which we may add to, or subtract from, the sum of things scientifically known as the canons of induction may suggest. He is Himself the condition of scientific knowledge. If He be excluded from the causal series which produces beliefs, the cognitive series which justifies them is corrupted at the root. And as it is only in a theistic setting that beauty can retain its deepest meaning, and love its brightest lustre so these great truths of aesthetics and ethics are but half-truths isolated and imperfect, unless we add to them yet a third. We must hold that reason and the works of reason have their source in God; that from Him they draw their inspiration: and that if they repudiate their origin, by this very act they proclaim their own insufficiency. [P. 273 f.]

No less a philosopher than Professor Hocking of Harvard, in *The Journal of Religion*, November, 1923, has a very strong article on Illicit Naturalizing of Religion. It should be read by all who are anxious to find

a searching criticism of Humanism. We will quote one remark upon worship:

Worship must not be made a means to utilitarian ends simply. It demands a metaphysical object. To leave religion with merely psychological attitudes or social tasks is illicitly to naturalize it. The object of worship must be worthy of worship. It must be God.

And this is the reason why Humanism, with such strong popular and intellectual elements of appeal, always fails as a religion. The human is not the Numen, and the human knows this.

SPRING VALLEY, NEW YORK.

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY

By REV. ARTHUR J. BROWN, D.D., LL.D., Secretary Emeritus of The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and Acting Editor of
The Missionary Review of the World

IT IS SAID that intelligent laymen would be glad to know what the chairs of church history in our theological seminaries are for. There is ground for the inquiry. Ministers bring the results of their theological and exegetical studies into the pulpit. They bring in the results of scientific and economic studies. But, as a rule, they are silent upon the history of the church, and the opinion appears to prevail that there is but little in it that can be made practically useful. I believe, however, that the field thus neglected is one that is rich in material of high value alike to the minister and to his people.

The object of an illustration is to make bright and clear. An illustration, therefore, should not be used for its own sake. It is not an end, but a means to an end. If it falls short of the dignity of the subject to which it relates, or if it does not make the truth in which it is set impressive and attractive, it is a failure. These things being true, it is evident that no merely hypothetical case, however rhetorically expressed, will impress men so profoundly as an instance of that which has actually occurred. History is a record of experience, and experience is a good instructor. Plead with a man to abandon a perilous course, and he may remain unmoved. But confront him with disastrous consequences that have actually resulted from such a course, and he is at

once interested. The minister, therefore, who has a command of historical illustrations, who is able to lay the experience of the past by the side of the efforts of the present, will be most likely to influence and convince his hearers.

Such illustrations have a dignity befitting the pulpit, a dignity often wanting in the effusive stories and inane anecdotes of the peripatetic revivalist. The dignified is not necessarily the dull, nor is the vivid necessarily the florid. An illustration may be intensely interesting, may flash illumination into a subject, and still be characterized by elevation of sentiment and chastity of diction. Nor need the historical be the extended or the pedantic. It may be compressed into a single sentence and stripped of every particle of ostentation. Such illustrations, drawn from real life, throbbing with human hopes and fears, darkened with the humiliation of failure or irradiated with the glory of success, mournful with blasted lives or jubilant with triumphant endeavor, are elements of marvelous force in penetrating to the hearts and consciences of men and in capturing the citadels of their reason.

Where will we find a better illustration of the heroism of faith than in the annals of the Waldenses or the Scottish Covenanters; of the sublimity of self-sacrifice than when the Netherlanders deluged their carefully tilled fields rather than see the ascendancy of the enemy of their country and their God; of the conflict between personal ambition and public welfare than in Waterloo, which Victor Hugo said "was not a battle but a change of front of the universe"; of the spirit which should animate the children of God than in the reply of the youthful heir to the French throne to an infamous proposal, "I cannot! I cannot! I am the son of a king!"; of the

joy in cross bearing than in the cry of the sleeping Xavier at the vision of the hardships before him, "Yet more, O my God, yet more! More toil, more suffering, more agony for Thee"? Or, on the other hand, where will we find a better illustration of the unsatisfying nature of earthly prosperity, than in the dying lamentation of Abdalrahman III, that, in a reign of above fifty years of victory and peace, of riches and pleasure, he had known but fourteen days of true and unalloyed happiness; of the dangers of an unchristian learning than in the results of the Renaissance in Italy; of misdirected enthusiasm than in the Crusades; of the evils of spiritual pride than in the medieval popes; or of the consequences of tyranny and irreligion than in the horrors of the French Revolution? Any of these and scores of others will come to the mind of the minister who knows history, and they will give impressiveness to the truth which he teaches.

If history is a record of experience it is available, not only for illustration in public discourse, but for guidance in Christian work. In dealing with an evil there is usually unanimity regarding the end sought; disagreements arise on the question of method. Take intemperance. We are all agreed as to its iniquity and as to the necessity of abolishing it. But the method? Here differences emerge. Worldliness in the church. We unite in lamenting it; but how shall it be abated? By command, or by persuasion, by discipline or by a higher standard of Christian living? On these and kindred questions there is wide variance of opinion as to method.

And we know that methods have much to do with success. Many a worthy cause has suffered defeat, not by the opposition of its enemies, but by the imprudence

of its advocates. Even religion has often had reason to fear the follies of its friends more than the assaults of its foes. There is a broad distinction between knowledge and wisdom. Knowledge relates to mental possessions; wisdom to their application to practical exigencies. Wisdom, we may say, is the right use of knowledge. Many a man has solaced himself in defeat by the reflection that he was a martyr to the truth, when, as a matter of fact, he was simply a martyr to his own indiscretion. Now, historical study is peculiarly adapted, not, indeed, to the originating of wisdom—it will not make a wise man out of a fool—but to the promotion of wisdom. Nearly every problem of the present has emerged at some time or other in the past, and the observation of the methods which were then adopted and of their practical workings will give us some idea whether similar measures would be advisable now. Men are more apt to repeat themselves in their mistakes than in their successes. They do not learn from the experiences of others; they adopt methods which have been tried over and over again, and every time with disastrous results.

What better service can the Christian minister render than to guide public sentiment in the choice of wise methods? And how shall he so well fit himself to be a safe leader as by the study of history? Take the iconoclasm of the eighth century, for example. Observe the efforts of Leo, the Isaurian, to legislate his people into a reform for which they were not ready, to abolish idolatry by breaking the images; and in his failure learn that no permanent reform can be effected which does not influence the heart, whether it be of the individual, the community or society at large; that great and lasting reforms cannot be made by smashing things. History

affords many illustrations of reforms which succeeded in name but did not succeed in fact. The old evil only changed its garb. What a flood of welcome light the minister can throw upon the pathway of true advance by pointing to the failures and successes of the battles against evil in the past.

The common objections to evangelical religion are all old, but only the student of history knows how old. Dr. Charles Hodge quoted approvingly the statement of a German writer that "the materialists of our day have not advanced a step upon the system of Epicurus." And yet materialism is heralded to the world as one of the latest deductions of modern science. That "Christ is not equal with God" has recently been discovered by some who are apparently ignorant that Arius ever existed. We are complacently invited to consider as "a new departure in theology" that which took its "departure" in the days of Origen. Miracles, O shade of Celsus! have just been discarded by advanced thinkers!

I need not multiply examples. It is no uncommon thing to hear someone confidently announce that a truth has been discovered which shows the fallacy of evangelical Christianity, and gather around himself that class of persons, to be found in every community, who are immature or unstable in their convictions and whose plastic minds are easily impressed by beautifully dressed fallacy. Some hotel ball rooms are filled Sunday morning with people who naively imagine that they are hearing something new, when they listen to cloudy metaphysics and denatured Christianity. The historical preacher will be able to show that the supposed new idea is but the resurrected skeleton of an old error which died a natural death centuries before its present apostle was born. Few things so disconcert the average apostle of

modern skepticism as the proof that wise men once investigated his theory, weighed every argument for and against it, and by an overwhelming suffrage found it untenable.

The fact is, the cardinal doctrines of our faith have come to us through the smoke of victorious conflict. This the historical preacher sees, and he is thereby led to a greater respect for the essential tenets of the faith and to a mild contempt for the smatterer who imagines that he can overthrow, in a magazine article or a popular novel, truths which have passed unscathed through the battles of the ages. Not that sound doctrine is a static thing. Reverent study of the Bible and enlarging experience of the people of God are setting some old truths in juster proportion and perspective, are revealing the weak foundations of some beliefs that were formerly accepted, and are fulfilling John Robinson's prophecy that God has yet more truth to break out of His holy Word. But the basic facts of revelation and Christian experience still stand. The man of the twentieth century needs the same Saviour as the man of a thousand years ago, and that Saviour is "the same, yesterday, today and forever."

That he who knows no times but his own is necessarily limited in mental vision, all must see. Indeed, it may be questioned whether one can really know his own age without knowing the ages which have preceded it, for the superstructure of the present is reared upon the foundation of the past and is only intelligible when viewed in connection with it. The study of history is a continual revelation. True, the minister is a busy man; but there are odd hours even with the busiest, and the use one makes of them, rather than the routine work, determines the breadth of thought and culture. Let the

minister devote those hours for a year to the systematic study of some great period in the history of the church, and he will be astonished at the results. Like the building of a railroad through an undeveloped country, his labor will open up resources hitherto unsuspected, and he will be almost bewildered by the wealth of material piled up on the fields all about him. With reference to a multitude of current speculations he will see and be able to show whither these things tend; while many truths which may have lain dormant in his mind will assume vitality and power. Sin will be more real to him after he has studied the life of Augustine; justification by faith, after he has studied the life of Luther.

It may be said that this is biography, not history. But history is largely the biography of great men. The history of the Reformation is in the lives of the Reformers, and cannot be separated from them. A historic movement always incarnates itself, so that history becomes biography, and biography history. For pulpit use the biographical form possesses many advantages. It enables the preacher to give the subject vividness, to clothe it with flesh and blood, to make it a living, tangible thing, to associate it with human sympathies and aspirations, and thus to stir and hold his congregation as he could in no other way; while by the skilful use of perspective and by setting the character in his proper environment the ends of history may be subserved.

History is too often degraded into a mere catalogue of facts and dates, and its study into mechanical memorizing. Such treatment has made it both uninteresting and profitless and has more than once exposed the most fascinating of studies to the charge of dryness. In his book on Gladstone and Palmerston, Philip Guedalla criticizes so-called erudite history "not only because it

is dull but because, being dull, it must be untrue." "Those stationary facts, that stiff procession of dead men, are not the past." The past is not "a morgue where dead statesmen perpetually lie in state." When, therefore, we yawn over history it means "that one more historian has failed to do his duty." But by presenting history biographically, with special reference to principles which are applied to the problems of the present, historical sermons may be made most instructive. They will interest an audience however varied in tastes, education or ideas.

Judging from the sermons usually heard, one might almost suppose that the ages of revelation were the only ages in which events were Providentially controlled, and that since then God has left the world to take care of itself. Certainly post-Scriptural church history receives little attention in our pulpits. There are even those who deem it perfectly proper to show how God overruled the enmity of Pharaoh, but improper to show how he overruled the ambition of Hildebrand; a meritorious thing to describe the mustard seed period of the church, but a misuse of the pulpit to tell how the tender plant fared after it got above the ground. Has, then, God forsaken the earth? It needs to be emphasized that He has not, that He is in it today as really as He was of old, that He is calling men and guiding nations now as He did then, that Wiclif and Luther were as truly raised up for their work as Moses and Abraham were for theirs, that God is fulfilling mighty purposes in the world, and that He is shaping all the movements of time with reference to the realization of those purposes.

Carlyle, in his essay on History, contrasts political and religious history and declares that the latter is "undoubtedly the more important of the two, inasmuch as

it concerns us more to understand how man's moral well-being had been and might be promoted, than to understand in the like sort his physical well-being, which latter is ultimately the aim of all political arrangements. . . . So that for man's true advantage, not the outward condition of his life but the inward and spiritual is of prime influence; not the form of government he lives under, and the power he can accumulate there, but the church he is a member of and the degree of moral elevation he can acquire by means of its instruction."

History should not be regarded as fragmentary and disconnected, but as orderly and systematic. Beneath the apparently unorganized mass runs a mighty undercurrent of thought, and that thought is God's purpose to establish the Kingdom of His Son. Toward this glorious consummation all things are tending, and with reference to it all history has its meaning. Ofttimes man has labored toward it ignorantly. Little did the scholarly Greek know in whose hands he was when he wrought out that marvelous language. Little did Alexander the Great realize whom he was serving when he pursued his career of conquest. Little did the haughty Roman understand for whose benefit he was giving the nations that rock-ribbed organization and building those matchless highways. But Greek and Macedonian and Roman were each and all doing God's work, and unconsciously, but none the less really, preparing the world for the founding of that Kingdom which was to "break in pieces and consume" their own kingdoms, and to "stand forever." In like manner it might be shown how the papacy and the monastic orders, wars and famines, conquests and discoveries, have been used to further the purposes of the Almighty, and how true greatness be-

longs to those men, and how permanent prosperity has come to those nations that have recognized the divine purpose and brought themselves into harmony with it. God is in all history, and he who seeks aright will have no difficulty in finding Him.

Such a thought lends to history dignity and interest. It makes it the most broadening, the most fascinating, of studies. From this viewpoint history is comprehensive of all else—biography, theology, philosophy, missions. It is not easy to see how the reverent student of it can avoid being an optimist, for everywhere he will find God, ordering its events, overruling the devices of men, and causing even their vain imaginings to declare His glory. He will see oftentimes the victory of evil and the defeat of good, an ever changing pageant in which magnificence and desolation, the panoply of triumph and the trappings of woe, are strangely blended; but he will also see that through all the mighty current of God's purposes sweeps steadily on, each storm that brings havoc to all else only quickening its forward movement, and he will labor on, encouraged, inspired, with faith in the future because with faith in God.

Such a view of history is at once a reason and a justification for taking it into the pulpit, a reason impossible of consistent opposition, save by him who holds that there is no God in the world, no overruling Providence, no Kingdom of Christ toward which all things are tending. Objections to historical preaching come from a narrow conception of the Gospel. It is granted that, if to preach "Jesus Christ and him crucified" be simply to reiterate the A, B, Cs of religion, this is not such preaching. But if it be not only to plead with men to "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved," but also to show the relation of Christ to the life of indi-

viduals and nations, to instruct them regarding the historical development of His Kingdom, to hold up before them the historical consequences of rejecting Him, to point out the central place of His cross in human history, and to convince them that all the movements of past and present look forward to the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, as St. Paul did, then such preaching is, in the broadest and truest sense, a preaching of "Jesus Christ and him crucified."

So far from church history not being the Gospel, it is the Gospel itself, the Gospel as it exhibits itself in the life of the church and the world. "Next to the Holy Scriptures," finely observed Philip Schaff, "which are themselves a history and depository of divine revelation, there is no stronger proof of the continual presence of Christ with his people, no more thorough vindication of Christianity, no richer source of spiritual wisdom and experience, no deeper incentive to virtue and piety, than the history of Christ's Kingdom. Every age has a message from God to man, which it is of the greatest importance for man to understand." I believe, with the late Professor John DeWitt, "that the pulpit has denied itself the exercise of an important power by its failure to employ largely this mode of gospel discourse."

It is not meant that history should be pursued to the neglect of other equally important subjects, or that the minister should always be preaching it. Hobby-riding is not desirable. The contention simply is, that history deserves a larger attention than it has yet received in the work of the study and the pulpit, and that it should have a place as one of the great means by which God's ways are to be understood and made known unto men. The minister may or may not deem it advisable to de-

liver special series of historical sermons. If he should do so he will find it the most laborious but the most profitable work he ever did, interesting alike to young and old and contributing richly to their intellectual and spiritual edification. Personally, I believe in such preaching, and I prepared and delivered a series of historical sermons each year of my pastorate. Such series should not consist of more than seven or eight discourses, or be delivered oftener than once a year, partly because it is unwise to preach too frequently on one class of subjects, and partly because the minister will need the spare time of a year for the necessary study.

More sensational themes will be easier to prepare and probably attract larger congregations; but they will be far less valuable both to the preacher and to the hearer. However, if the minister should prefer not to attempt the historical sermon, the fruits of historical research will appear in general culture, in vigor and sweep of thought, in wealth of resources, in catholicity of spirit, in wider views of the Kingdom of God, each and all of which will be reflected in his general sermons to the manifest improvement of their character. The church of today needs toning up to a higher and broader conception of God's sovereign purposes in the world, and the Christian minister can engage in no nobler task than the interpretation of the divine plan and of man's relation to it.

THE EVANGELICAL WITNESS OF HYMNOLOGY

By HUGH R. MONRO

THERE are some vast neglected areas in the realm of Christian apologetics. From time to time claims are made having such plausibility as greatly to disturb the faith of some, while often the effective rejoinder is wholly overlooked. Among the most persistent of such claims is the avowal that Christian doctrine is in a state of constant flux, taking on an altered complexion and substance in each generation, thus indicating its reaction to current conceptions and ideals—its evolutionary character. But there are at least two lines of inquiry we may pursue which will serve to show the utter groundlessness of this assumption and a contrary and reassuring state of facts.

Such inquiry need not be undertaken in any controversial spirit as the issue does not necessarily lie between opposing theological positions. It is rather a question of a right historical perspective in relation to the progress of Christianity, a qualification strangely lacking in many modern writers who assume to instruct us in these matters. The confusion at this point appears to be due largely to a failure to distinguish between certain recurring backward movements in the church, and the main current of spiritual advance; between more or less confusing symptoms which have appeared in each generation in different branches of the church, and the sustained evangelical movement which may be clearly traced from age to age.

The *first* of these witnesses is the vast library of extant sermonic literature, reaching from the apostolic era to the present. What could afford a better criterion of the status of Christian belief in each age? The fact that there have been digressions and heresies and great reformations in no way invalidates the principle we have stated; it is rather the more securely established because of the final vindication and triumph of the evangelical ideal. As Dr. James Orr pointed out years ago, it is a phenomenon of Christian history that it has never been possible to maintain for any extended period a position inconsistent with the foundation truths of Scripture; either the adherents will return to a recognition of the final authority of the Bible or lapse into atheism. Thus, there is an unbroken tradition, properly characterized as "the historic Christian faith," witnessed by a succession of preachers and evangelists reaching from Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, and Augustine to Calvin, Luther, Wesley, Spurgeon, and Moody. There are, of course, widely differing characteristics in this preaching and emphasis, but always the same body of Scriptural truth and the same evangelical appeal.

But we have under consideration here more especially the *second* witness, namely, the hymnology of the church. If it is true that the ruling Christian conceptions of each age were different in character from the preceding, the result would be clearly reflected in sacred song as well as in pulpit testimony, whereas, there is a notable unity in both. Moreover, the early Christian hymns are singularly beautiful and elevated in character as well as evangelical in substance. More than half a century ago an English writer on hymnology put the case in this pointed form:

"When a Christian looks back over eighteen cen-

turies of his Church's songs, one thought springs up foremost in his mind; the most refreshing of all his meditation. In these, at least, he finds one bond of brotherly union which has never been broken. Through all these ages, wherever the Godhead of the Redeemer Son has been adored, His worshipers have had but one theme, sung often in the same words. Creed, ritual, the source of Church authority, passion, ambition, malice and wickedness have, alas! divided them from one another; but *in praise they have remained one—undivided and, apparently, indivisible.*"

The writer of this article has long had a deep interest in these early hymns, of which unfortunately few are to be found in our modern collections and of which practically no recent publications are available. It was during a late visit to Scotland that an opportunity was seized to examine a large collection of hymnals, many of them centuries old, containing not only the best medieval hymns in English and German, but those of the earlier Greek and Latin. The few examples given here are typical of a neglected, if not forgotten, library of sacred song rich in spiritual meaning as well as in literary quality. In an introduction to a volume of early Greek hymns an eminent translator sets forth the undoubted truth when he says:

"It is a very remarkable fact, and certainly not to our credit, that, with the exception of a very few who have made the study a specialty, our educated men show a most unaccountable ignorance of the most attractive and valuable material for praise and prayer contained in the Greek Church service books. We have learning more than enough, and zeal enough for the pursuit of study in other departments, but this unworked field lies fallow. . . . To any one having the lyrical gift and

the necessary qualifications for the study of Greek, these service books might prove a mine of treasure inexhaustible."

Unlike our English hymns, which are largely subjective, the Greek hymns are in most cases objective. Christ in His person and work is set before the mind. His incarnation, His life, the words He spoke and the works He wrought, His passion in all its aspects and agonies, are depicted in plain, unmistakable language.

This record may well begin with one of the earliest and most beloved Christian bishops, Clement of Alexandria, who lived in the second century. The following is taken from his *Hymns for Children*:

Lead, Holy Shepherd, lead us,
Thy feeble flock, we pray,
Thou King of little pilgrims!
Safe lead us all the way.

In Thy blest footprints guide us,
Along the heavenward road:
Thine age fills all the ages,
Undying Word of God!

Come, then, all-childlike, joining
Our hymns, our hearts, in one,
Sing peacefully and gladly
To God's Almighty Son.

Come! all ye Christ-begotten,
The God of peace adore:
All lowly-wise, one chorus!
And laud Him evermore.

Then this early song of praise by Athenogenes, 296

A.D.:

Light serene of holy glory
From the Immortal Father poured,
Holy Thou, O Blessed Jesus,
Holy, Blessed, Christ the Lord.

Now we see the sun descending,
 Now declines the evening light,
 And in hymns we praise the Father,
 Son and Spirit, God of Might.

Worthy of unending praises,
 Christ the Son of God art Thou;
 For Thy gift of life eternal,
 See the world adores Thee now.

The spirit of adoration is breathed in this early hymn
 by John Chrysostom, 386 A.D.:

Thou one Begotten Son,
 Eternal Word adored,
 Immortal while the ages run,
 And our Almighty Lord;

To bring Salvation nigh,
 To vanquish death and sin,
 Thou didst in cruel anguish die,
 And life for mortals win.

Thou art the Eternal Son,
 One in the glorious Three;
 Co-equal praise while ages run
 Shall ever rise to Thee.

And this vivid portrayal of the cross by the same
 author:

When on the cruel Cross
 The Lord was lifted high,
 Affrighted earth in terror quailed
 To see its Maker die.

Then had the yawning caves
 Devoured the murderous band,
 Had not the Crucified in love
 Stretched forth His saving hand.

O Lover of mankind,
 To Thee all glory be,
 For Thou didst give not death, but life,
 When hanging on the tree.

Two other outstanding Christian poets of the same century as Chrysostom were Gregory of Nazianzus, who died in 390, and Synesius, who died in 430. The former, who became Bishop of Constantinople, was a man of singular piety and an outstanding exponent of evangelical truth. Among the choice compositions which have come down to us are his morning and evening hymns. The following stanzas of the Morning Hymn reveal something of his childlike, trustful spirit:

The morning breaks, I place my hand in Thine,
My God, 'tis Thine to lead, to follow mine;
No word deceitful shall I speak the while,
Nor shall I stain my hand with action vile.

Thine be the day with worthy labour filled,
Strong would I stand to do the duty willed;
Nor swayed by restless passions let me be,
That I may give the offering pure to Thee;

Else were I 'shamed when hoary age I see,
Shamed were this board that bears Thy gifts to me:
Mine is the impulse; O my Christ, I pray,
Be Thou Thyself to me the Blessed Way!

Synesius, who became Bishop of Ptolemais, was of noble lineage as well as a scholar of brilliant attainments. While involved more or less in the philosophical discussions of his time, it is evident that his personal faith remained unaffected and his piety was of a vital character. His passion for Christ may be judged from the following:

O may my soul, uncrushed by care,
Direct her gaze to where Thou art,
And in Thy splendour find, O Christ,
The strength of life Thou canst impart.

And freed from sin's depressing load,
May I pursue the path divine
And rise above the cares of earth
Until my life is merged in Thine.

And when I rest in glory bright,
 The burden of my labour past,
 In hymns I'll praise Thee more and more
 While the eternal ages last.

The kindling flame of a deep devotion is seen also in the following verses from another hymn by the same author:

Up, up, my soul, on wings of praise,
 No other service know;
 In holy strains the love express
 That fires the heart below.

Burn, burn, my soul, and ever be
 With holy ardour fired,
 And, strongly armed with firm resolve,
 Be evermore inspired.

Let us look at one of the Christmas hymns which abound in the early hymnology, this one by St. Anatholius, who died 458 A.D.:

What shall we bring to Thee?
 What shall our offering be
 On this Thy natal morn?
 For Thou, O Christ, hast come to earth—
 A virgin mother gave Thee birth—
 For our redemption born.

The whole creation broad
 Gives praise and thanks to God,
 Who gave His only Son;
 And list! the bright angelic throng
 Their homage yield in sweetest song
 For peace on earth begun.

The heavens their glory shed,
 The star shines o'er His head,
 The promised Christ and King;
 And wise men from the lands afar,
 Led by the brightness of the star,
 Their treasured offerings bring.

What shall we give Thee now?
 Lowly the shepherds bow,
 Have we no gift to bring?

Our worship, lo, we yield to Thee,
All that we are, and hope to be—
This is our offering.

Perhaps the greatest of the Greek Christian poets was John of Damascus, 780 A.D. Apart from occasional evidence of the dogmatic spirit his hymns are marked by great depth of spiritual insight and feeling. Here are brief selections from his *Golden Canon* for Easter Day, breathing the glorious hopes of the Resurrection:

The day of resurrection!
Earth, tell it out abroad!
The passover of gladness,
The passover of God!
From death to life eternal,
From earth unto the sky,
Our Christ hath brought us over,
With hymns of victory.

Our hearts be pure from evil,
That we may see aright
The Lord in rays eternal
Of resurrection light;
And, listening to his accents,
May hear so calm and plain,
His own "All hail!" and, hearing,
May raise the victor-strain.

Come, let us drink the water new,
Not from the rock divinely springing,
But from that pure immortal stream
That from His tomb our Lord is bringing.

With Thee, O Christ, I lay entombed,
Ere light upon this day was falling;
With Thee I leave death's dark abode,
For Thou hast risen, and Thou art calling.

With Thee upon the Cross I hung
When Thou wast faint, and weak, and sighing;
Lord, with Thyself Thy servant bless,
In Thy bright realm through years undying.

There are other hymns of an even earlier date than those quoted above, of which the authorship cannot be definitely ascertained. Undoubtedly, the most ancient hymn of the primitive church was the first half of our commonly used Gloria, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." Pliny in his well known letter to the Emperor Trajan, written less than a half-century after the death of Paul, describes the Christians of Bithynia as singing responsively a moving song to Christ as if He were a God; and the atheist Lucian, born about the year 124, who scoffed at all religions, refers to a Christian ode having many names. These allusions which are believed by authorities to refer to the early form of the Gloria seem to indicate its use about the end of the first century, possibly during the lifetime of the Apostle John. The remaining words, "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen," were added at a little later time.

A second hymn, which it appears on adequate evidence must be placed about the beginning of the second century, is the following beautiful Evening Hymn:

Holy Jesus! Blessed Light,
Beaming with the likeness bright
Of the Father, who on high
Reigns immortal in the sky.

As we watch the setting sun,
Seeing dusky eve begun,
Father, Son and Spirit! we
Lift our even-song to Thee.

Thou art worthy to receive,
Evermore at morn and eve,
Hymns of praise ascending high,
Voiced and winged in melody.

Son of God, all praise be Thine,
Thou impartest life divine;
Therefore all the world will raise
Songs of glory to Thy praise.

The Latin Christian hymns have been much more largely translated than the Greek; few, however, are to be found in our modern hymnals; indeed, few of them are known to Christians of the present day. One would not be greatly surprised to find the name of Isaac Watts or even Charles Wesley appended to the following verse; and yet so manifestly do the hymns of all ages grow out of a common spiritual yearning that these words actually belong to Ambrose, who lived in the fourth century:

To Thee our inmost hearts we raise;
To Thee our voices rise in praise;
To Thee our love would heavenward soar;
Thee all our powers of thought adore;

Let not our souls in slumber share,
Else sin will sleep in ambush there:
Faith be our sentinel in sleep;
Then shall our rest be pure and deep.

O let our hearts, from sin set free,
Dream in their inmost depths of Thee!
And let no dread of secret foes
Ruffle the calm of our repose.

Eternal Son, we cry to Thee;
Father and Spirit! One in Three,
And Three in One through ages all!
Almighty! hear us when we call.

The early hymn writers by no means overlooked the theme of judgment, as the following verses of Prudentius, 348-424 A.D., will testify:

O sinner! comes the day of doom!
When the last trump shall shake the tomb,
And strew the heavens with ruin dire,
And wrap the earth in flaming fire.

When low in dust thy soul shall own
 That lofty One upon His throne:
 Tears on that day will not prevail,
 And grief for guilt will not avail.

For throned in clouds, the Judge on high
 Will deal to all their destiny,
 To some the realms of endless light,
 To some the shades of endless night.

A striking hymn by Andrew of Crete, 660-732, is found in some of our best modern collections and is thus more or less familiar:

Christian, dost thou see them,
 On the holy ground,
 How the powers of darkness
 Rage thy steps around?
 Christian, up and smite them,
 Counting gain but loss;
 In the strength that cometh
 By the holy cross!

Christian, dost thou feel them,
 How they work within,
 Striving, tempting, luring,
 Goading into sin?
 Christian, never tremble;
 Never be downcast;
 Gird thee for the battle,
 Watch, and pray, and fast!

And now we turn to an anonymous hymn of the eighth century, a hymn quoted by Bede and addressed to the "Martyrs for the name of Christ":

Sing to the Lord with joy and praise,
 Of martyrs and their victories;
 For to all ages they are given,
 E'er since from earth He rose to heaven.

The Church's princes near and far,
 Went forth to wage the heavenly war;
 Girt with ethereal armor bright,
 By light to conquer, not by might.

Martyrs were flung into the fire,
And to the teeth of monsters dire,
Men, vulture-like, athirst for gore,
Their flesh with cruel anguish tore.

Wounded and scorned these men of God,
For Jesus bold to shed their blood,
Unshaken, brooked the cruel strife,
Nerved by the faith of endless life.

O Faith which every foe controls!
O dauntless hope of noble souls!
O perfect love! which breaks the spell
Of fear, or earthly snare, or hell.

Gracious Redeemer! ours and theirs!
Their songs accept: accept our prayers;
Join all in one, that we and they,
One home may have, one heart for aye.

Among the most remarkable of the hymns which have come down to us from the Middle Ages is the hymn to the Holy Spirit by Charlemagne, 742-814. In the year it was composed Charlemagne was present at a synod and took part in its action affirming the doctrine embodied in this hymn. The hymn is still retained in the English prayer-book and has been used for one thousand years, chiefly on ordination occasions:

Creator Holy Spirit! come,
And make Thy peoples' hearts Thy home,
Our souls at first were framed by Thee,
Thy chosen temples let them be.

Our Comforter! most blessed name,
Gift of the Highest! Thee we claim,
Thou Fount of life! Thou Fire! and Love!
Shed down Thine unction from above.

Thy sevenfold gifts to us impart,
Finger of God! touch every heart,
Each voice atune to joyful song,
O Blessed Spirit promised long.

Show us the Father, Holy One!
 Reveal to us the Eternal Son;
 Spirit of Both for evermore,
 Thee let us trust and Thee adore.

Another great hymn to the Holy Spirit, thought by many to surpass that of Charlemagne, was, strangely enough, composed by another sovereign, Robert II, King of France, 997-1031. When the age in which he lived and the surrounding influences are considered, the production of a hymn marked by such spiritual insight and such elevation of thought, by a reigning monarch, seems no less than miraculous:

Holy Spirit, God of light!
 Come, and on our inner sight
 Pour Thy bright and heavenly ray!

Father of the lowly! come;
 Here, Great Giver! be Thy home,
 Sunshine of our hearts, for aye!

Inmost Comforter and best!
 Of our souls the dearest Guest,
 Sweetly all their thirst allay;

In our toils be our retreat;
 Be our shadow in the heat;
 Come and wipe our tears away.

For without Thee nought we find,
 Pure or strong in human kind,
 Nought that has not gone astray.

To Thy faithful servants give,
 Taught by Thee to trust and live,
 Sevenfold blessing from this day;

Make our title clear, we pray,
 When we drop this mortal clay;
 Then,—O give us joy for aye!

Turning from these remarkable hymns by two of the greatest medieval rulers, pronounced by Archbishop

Trench to be the greatest of the Latin hymns, we come to the work of an equally illustrious personage, albeit an ecclesiastic, who wrote two immortal hymns which have been treasured by the church for centuries. The most complete demonstration of the thesis on which this article is based is found where one would least expect it —amid the spiritual desolation of the twelfth century. Bernard of Clairvaux, an obscure monk of an obscure French village, refusing high ecclesiastical position and emoluments, came to exercise an influence, as one has said, "which welded mobs and controlled kings and popes, based not merely on his commanding eloquence and intellectual power, but on the irresistible influence of his earnestness and spiritual character." Whatever may have been the surrounding superstitions and corruptions, it is not difficult to judge what was going on in the heart of one who could voice its spiritual longings in stanzas such as these:

Jesus, the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills my breast;
But sweeter far Thy face to see,
And in Thy presence rest.

Nor voice can sing, nor heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find
A sweeter sound than Thy blest name,
O Saviour of mankind!

O Hope of every contrite heart,
O Joy of all the meek,
To those who fall how kind Thou art!
How good to those who seek!

But what to those who find! Ah! this
Nor tongue nor pen can show;
The love of Jesus, what it is
None but His loved ones know.

Jesus, our only joy be Thou,
 As Thou our prize wilt be;
 Jesus, be Thou our glory now
 And through eternity.

This best known of the hymns of Bernard was written in two parts, each consisting of five stanzas, the second concluding as follows:

Thee may our tongues for ever bless;
 Thee may we love alone;
 And ever in our lives express
 The image of Thine own.

The other well known hymn by this author, of which three verses follow, is found in most of our best church collections:

Jesus, Thou Joy of loving hearts!
 Thou Fount of life! Thou Light of men!
 From the best bliss that earth imparts
 We turn unfilled to Thee again.

Thy truth unchanged hath ever stood;
 Thou savest those that on Thee call;
 To them that seek Thee Thou art good,
 To them that find Thee, all in all.

O Jesus, ever with us stay,
 Make all our moments calm and bright;
 Chase the dark night of sin away,
 Shed o'er the world Thy holy light.

Who will not agree that these two great hymns transcend all limits of time and ecclesiastical division, proclaiming the universal language of vital, living faith? Their deeply devotional spirit, alike with the lofty character of the author, is also to be attributed in large measure to an intimacy with the Scriptures, remarkable in view of the spiritual declension of the times in which he lived.

In the three centuries which follow our resources in

hymnology are somewhat meager. Among those surviving there is an impressive hymn on judgment by Thomas of Celano, thirteenth century, from which the following verses are taken:

Vows and prayers can save me never;
Grace alone can me deliver
From the fire that burns forever.

Then, O God! to be forgiven!
Then let rest to me be given,
Mercy-loving Lord in heaven.

And the familiar, though anonymous, fourteenth century Easter chant beginning:

Jesus Christ is risen today,
Hallelujah!
Our triumphant holy day,
Hallelujah!

In the fifteenth century we have several hymns by Thomas à Kempis, and in the century following those of Martin Luther, of which perhaps the best known is the hymn, *Ein Feste Berg*, beginning:

A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing:
Our Helper He, amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing.
For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe;
His craft and power are great,
And, armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

From this point the stream of our hymnology, quickened no doubt by the spirit of the Reformation, widens out, and we have the hymns of Flaminius, 1498-1550; Xavier, 1506-1552; Paul Gerhardt, 1606-1676; John Milton, 1608-1674; Richard Baxter, 1615-1681; and Isaac Watts, 1674-1748. Two of the notable

hymns which have come down to us from this period are the stanzas by John Milton, each of them ending:

For His mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.

and the great hymn by Isaac Watts:

When I survey the wondrous cross
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride.

The eighteenth century brought new singers with rich additions to the stores of sacred song—Toplady, who wrote *Rock of Ages*; Doddridge, who wrote:

O God of Bethel, by whose hand
Thy people still are fed.

Charles Wesley, who is said to have composed six thousand hymns, among them:

Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy bosom fly.

Cowper, who wrote:

There is a fountain filled with blood,
Drawn from Immanuel's veins.

Newton, who gave us:

How sweet the name of Jesus sounds
In a believer's ear

—and many others of the great hymnal treasures of the church.

Of the prolific labors of the writers of the nineteenth century our hymn books bear abundant witness—Heber, Sir Walter Scott, Keble, Newman, Bonar, Palmer, and a score of others. But rich as are these recent additions to the hymnology of the centuries, there is a striking similarity in subject as well as substance, demonstrating anew the fact that saints of God in all the Chris-

tian centuries have experienced the same soul thirst and have been drinking at the same spiritual fountain. The morning and evening hymns, so common to the sacred verse of the early centuries, have their modern counterpart in Caswall's "When morning gilds the skies," and in Lyte's "Abide with me! Fast falls the eventide."

The numerous Christmas and Easter hymns, such as those of Ambrose and Prudentius, are of the same strain as Sears' "It came upon the midnight clear," and Charles Wesley's "Christ the Lord is risen today."

Indeed, the kinship of the early and medieval hymn writers with those of the recent centuries is unmistakable. The spirit, theme, doctrine, and aspiration are identical. For this reason the devout today find the same kindling of joy, the same quickening of devotion, whether they voice their praise in words of Clement, Sedulius, Bernard, Wesley or Miss Havergal.

In any attempt at the most cursory review of the hymnology of the church many other of the great hymns, ancient and modern, would deserve mention; but our aim here is merely to illustrate the unity and comprehensiveness of the evangelical witness borne through the centuries by the writers of sacred verse.

Among the earliest songs of praise was The Hallelujah—the word from Hebrew meaning simply, "Praise ye the Lord." This is thought to be the most liquid and musical word in any language and recurs with great frequency in early verse. The devout pronunciation of the word became an act of worship. Jerome tells us that, in their psalm singing, the gilded ceilings of their temples were shaken with the reverberating Hallelujah. It remains the high note of Christian praise.

THE REFORMATION AS SEEN THROUGH A GROUP STUDY

By PROFESSOR THEODORE F. HERMAN, D.D., Theological Seminary of the
Reformed Church

THIS is an outline report on the discussion of the Reformation, by one the groups at Columbiana-on-Lake George, in the summer of 1929, and an application of certain contributions by the group to the modern problem.

In this attempt to summarize our discussion I shall consider the two main periods of the Reformation and then the new age.

THE CREATIVE PERIOD

The creative period extended, roughly, from 1517 to 1530. Here we discerned various tendencies within the movement. There was the conservative Reformation represented by the Lutheran and the Reformed type. And there was the radical type represented by the Socinian and the Anabaptist movements. The former of these two was radical in thought, the latter in life. Then we also considered the Reformation in England, as a distinctively lay movement passing through three successive phases, namely, from papacy to prelacy, from prelacy to Puritanism, from Puritanism to independentism. In England the Reformation produced no great theologian. The main issue throughout its development was polity rather than doctrine.

There were many important distinctions within the Reformation as a whole, but for our purposes in this

conference they were of minor importance. We realized that in all the various denominational groups resulting from the Reformation certain dominant common convictions of faith separated them from the Roman Church. The chief of these convictions was, that men are saved by the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ, and that the basis of this faith is the Bible.

THE FORMULATION OR FIXATION PERIOD

The formulation or fixation period extended, roughly, from 1530 to the end of the seventeenth century. The next point of importance is the recognition of the fact that, even during the lifetime of the great Reformers, and increasingly during the second generation, the Reformation became a theological and controversial movement. Its historical origin lay in a profound religious experience; but now the logic of events and the controversies with Romanists and with divergent Reformation groups led inevitably to the formulation and fixation of the Reformation in theological terms.

On the Lutheran side Melanchthon was the first theologian. He published his *Loci Communes* in 1521, and this first Protestant treatise of theology went rapidly through many editions. And it is interesting and important to observe the changes that occurred in these various editions. In the first edition one finds, in the main, doctrines of faith, which are of an experiential character; that is to say, doctrines which rest squarely upon the Christian experience of salvation and which may be tested and verified in personal experience. But in later editions other doctrines were added, many for apologetic purposes, until finally this treatise contained a complete system of theology.

In the Reformed Church Calvin was far and away

the great theologian. Indeed, he was the outstanding theologian of the Reformation era. And in the successive editions of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* may be observed a similar growth and expansion of the first edition of 1536, which contained four chapters, to the final edition, with its eighty chapters. As has been said above, this theological formulation was necessitated by controversies that arose both within the Reformation churches and from without.

A Protestant Type. The outcome of this period of formulation and fixation, through the turmoil and stress of controversy, was a Protestant type of Christian or of Christianity. Its distinctive mark was orthodoxy, and its sufficient basis was the Bible. And it is important to note with some clearness just how this type arose. The Reformers, one and all, had broken away from a church that claimed infallibility. They had dared to affirm that they were saved, not by the acceptance of the truth entrusted to this church nor by the infusion of grace administered by this church, but by their personal experience of the saving grace of God as it was proclaimed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In other words, they had substituted a personal experience for the objective and external authority of the Roman Church in all matters that pertained to religion and to salvation.

But it was inevitable that directly the problem must be raised and faced of the ultimate source and authority of this personal experience of salvation. Naturally, in their controversies and debates with Rome, the Reformers appealed from the church to the Bible as the word of God. To Luther, the early Luther, the Bible was the only means of grace, because in it he found the proclamation of the saving grace of God in the Gospel

of Jesus Christ. And this proclamation was his criterion for the authority of all the rest of the Bible. "*Was Jesum treibt*"; that, in Luther's well known phrase, was truly Biblical. It was this conception of the authority of the Bible which emboldened Luther to become, as it were, a higher critic of the Bible, calling the Epistle of James, for example, an Epistle of straw.

On the Reformed side we observe a different process. From the beginning, in Zwingli, the Bible meant something else to Reformed theology than to Luther. It was not the proclamation of God's saving grace, but the revelation of His eternal purpose and will, of equal authority in all its parts. Thus, on the Reformed side the Bible, as an objective criterion and norm of doctrine and life, played a much more prominent part than on the Lutheran side. Calvin thought that the Bible authenticated itself to the believer by the "*testimonium internum spiritus sancti*," that is to say, that the same Spirit who inspired the Bible worked faith in its revealed doctrines and duties in the heart of the believers (who, it must be remembered, according to Calvin were the elect). Evidently one has here a much more objective conception of the authority of the Bible than in Luther's view. Luther's conception made its appeal directly to a subjective experience and to a corresponding quality of the Bible, found primarily and supremely in the Gospel of Christ. It is evident that such a view of Biblical authority laid stress on subjective experience which jeopardized its objectivity.

But Luther did not stop or remain content with that early position. Soon the currents of divergent types of Protestantism, differing from his own, compelled him to seek a more objective basis for the faith that was in him. He found it in the Bible, now no longer exclu-

sively the proclamation of God's infinite grace, but the inspired and authoritative repository of the doctrines and duties of a Christian man. In other words, he approximated the position, held by Calvin from the beginning, that the Bible as the inspired word of God is the source, the only true source, of the Christian faith. And faith, now, is no longer chiefly personal trust in the Gospel, but rather belief in doctrines about God and Christ and His salvation. The final outcome of tendencies such as these is found in the doctrine of an infallible Bible, the most rigorous and extreme statement of which may be seen in *The Second Helvetic Confession*, 1675, which declares that the inspiration of the Bible is due to its dictation by the Holy Spirit and that even the Hebrew vowel points are included in this infallible inspiration.

The Arrested Movement. At this point we proceeded to the consideration of the Reformation as an arrested movement, in the sense that it had not fulfilled its early promise to reinstate the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its full freedom. There was, in the first place, an outer arrest of the movement due to the Counter-reformation that was very successfully started and staged by the Council of Trent, 1545-1563. As is well known this defensive campaign of the Catholic Church, led by the Jesuits and armed with Index and Inquisition, achieved notable results. But it was of far greater importance for our purposes to note the inner arrest of the Reformation, that is, the stunting and dwarfing of its initial impulses, which were grounded in a vital religious experience, by certain inherent forces which must be regarded as an undissolved leaven of Catholicism.

The outcome of this arrest is clearly seen in the rise of a Protestant scholasticism, the barren dogmatism of

the seventeenth century. There is perhaps no more saddening spectacle in the history of the Christian church than this frustration and failure of the early Protestantism, due to the fact that men simply, as has been said, "substituted an infallible book for an infallible church." The essence of Christianity was regarded as a series of theological and dogmatic propositions concerning God and Christ and man, sin and salvation, which a man must believe in order to be saved.

The Protest Against this Arrested Movement. Inevitably a protest arose against this barren scholasticism, with its bitter controversies and its numerous denominational divergencies. We may distinguish a protest voiced by the heart of man, and a protest uttered by the mind—in the name of science, philosophy, and reason.

First, the protest of the heart. Precisely as, long before the Reformation, men turned away from the Catholic Church, which offered them a stone instead of bread and meat, to mysticism, which satisfied the eternal hunger of the heart of man for God and salvation, so now we observe the rise of German pietism which soon spread into England and produced the English evangelicalism. Let us observe that in Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley, and Whitefield we find no disposition to depart from the dogmas proclaimed by the church. What they stressed was the relative unimportance of doctrine in religion. The emphasis was on the life which was the result of the personal experience of salvation by the grace of God through Jesus Christ. None of them denied or discredited any one of the many dogmas of the church, but in all these mystic movements doctrines were relegated to a place of secondary importance.

Second, the protest of the mind. It is very impor-

tant for us, if we are to link up the Reformation vitally with our own age, to note the protest of the mind against the arrested Reformation movement. Clearly the Reformers belonged to the Middles Ages. Descartes, the founder of modern philosophy, was born a century after Luther. And Gallileo's trial occurred almost one hundred years after the beginning of the Reformation. Now the Reformation itself was only one aspect of a wider movement taking place in the arena of human history. This movement was the Renaissance. And the Renaissance itself was the rebirth of learning and of letters. Man has ever sought truth and life, and for a thousand years before the Renaissance the church of Rome had maintained that she alone, in her dogma, gave truth to man and, through her sacramental channels, imparted the divine grace which is life. And for a thousand years, in the main, mankind had been content to receive truth and life at the hands of this mighty church which denied the mental and moral ability of men, unaided by her, to find truth or life. But under her very discipline mankind, in the Western world, had passed from childhood to manhood; and at the beginning of the second millennium of Christian history voices were raised, here and there, to question the authority of the church and of her demand for absolute submission of head and heart under her dictates.

These early voices, which proclaimed, as it were, the rights of the reason of man and the claims of his heart for abundant life, were crushed by the power of Rome. In the thirteenth century the great Thomas Aquinas quelled this rising storm by more plausible means. His great *Summa* for a little while satisfied the reason of mankind under the sway of Rome that her dogma, though above reason, was not against reason. But only

for a little while. Soon the Renaissance man stood on the threshold of a new age, boldly affirming the right of reason to fare forth into God's great world in the quest of truth, untrammelled by any dogma of the church. In other words, the scientific movement was born. And soon this same man clamored for a more abundant life, for emancipation from external restraints in the ordering of his political and economic existence upon earth. In other words, the democratic spirit was born and winged for its flight through the ages.

In the age of the Reformation it had seemed, at first, as though this Renaissance spirit and the spirit of the Reformation might even join hands and go forth together in their protest against Rome and in their proclamation of the new era. But soon their paths diverged and their interests clashed. The Reformation, as we have seen, became an arrested movement. Its arrest, during the seventeenth century, meant the triumph of barren dogmatism. The spirit of the Renaissance, on the other hand, produced radical revolutions in thought as well as in life during the ages after the Reformation. Kant revolutionized philosophy and established the primacy of reason in the sphere of nature. The same spirit dethroned age-old autocracies, and founded republics. Inevitably this new-born mind of man, which had laid deep foundations for modern science and for democracy, came into conflict with the dogmatism that was dominant in Protestantism. In England this protest of the mind led to the deistic movement, or to the establishment of a rational supernaturalism. In France a similar rational supernaturalism was voiced by Voltaire and Rousseau, and led finally to the atheism of the *Encyclopaedia*. In Germany illuminism was the earlier form of this protest, but at the end of the eighteenth century it

led to a far more creative and constructive movement, the so-called critical movement.

It is manifestly impossible here and now, in this very hasty and extemporaneous summary of our discussions, to go into greater detail. Suffice it to say that, apparently, the net outcome of the Reformation at the end of the eighteenth century was this: That a man must choose to be either a Christian and a medievalist or a cultured, educated man and a skeptic. That seemed to be the only alternative open to men who were imbued with the spirit of the new science and philosophy and who faced the arid dogmatism that paraded as the Christian religion whether in the diminished and attenuated dogmas of deism or in the full-orbed systems of the orthodox churches.¹

THE NEW AGE

A new era dates from Schleiermacher, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We can only refer to his *Reden Ueber Die Religion*, an epoch-making work. Here Schleiermacher establishes anew the fundamental differences between religion and theology and their mutual relationship. "Religion," he said, "is life, and theology is man's effort to explain and interpret that life." Friend and foe owe much to this great modern prophet. Beginning with his *Glaubenslehre*, published in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, we find a new *leit motif* running through the theology of that whole century. In the wake of Schleiermacher followed Ritschl, who, in important respects, complemented his work. It is impossible in this summary to analyze in detail the virtues and the defects of these two leading thinkers in the realm of theology in the nineteenth cen-

¹ See McGiffert's *Protestant Thought Before Kant*, p. 253.

tury. The point of interest to us here and now is that jointly, and aided by many others in many lands, ours included, they cleared the way for a reinterpretation of the Christian religion in terms of life rather than in terms of dogma. Both regarded themselves as the true heirs of the spirit of the early Luther. And both claimed that in his spirit they continued the work begun by him but soon arrested and deflected from its true course.

What, now, are the dominant trends of our age, and what is the relationship of the church to them? The two dominant trends of our day are the scientific and the democratic. By the scientific trend I mean a spirit of insatiable hunger for facts. And by the democratic trend I mean, not a political organization, but a spirit of hunger and thirst for life, man's determination freely and fully to find and establish for himself an abundant life. That, it seems to me, is the signature of our age. This quest of truth has led to marvelous results. It has given us modern science. It has enabled us to harness the forces of nature to our life. And this hunger for a larger life also has led to great achievements. It has resulted, in this democratized world of ours, in many a modern exodus, in many an emancipation. It has brought a larger life, a fuller life, to millions of men and women and children.

What now is the place and power of the church of Christ in this new world? What answer will she make to this cry of the mind of man for truth, for facts that are truth, and what will she say to this cry of the heart of man for an abundant life?

It must be confessed, I think, that organized Christendom, as a whole, proclaims an answer that neither satisfies the mind of man nor appeases the hunger of his

heart. For the majority of our churches still identify the Christian religion with a system of dogmas and a set of precepts that claim the divine authority of the Bible. I fear that if the church stubbornly maintains this untenable position there will have to be a great deal less of "churchianity" before there will be any more really Biblical Christianity in this world of ours.

There is, however, another answer, the true answer, that the church might give to the cry of our age. Taking our stand with the Lord Himself, and with those great teachers who have rediscovered His Gospel, we might say to our distracted world that His Gospel is both truth and life. We might say that in Him, the Christ, truth and life became incarnate. We might invite men to make the experiment of believing His Gospel and following His leadership, thus gaining the personal experience of salvation.

The supreme need of our churches today, it would seem, is to train leaders who have a personal redemptive experience of Jesus Christ and who are equipped and trained for a truly prophetic ministry to the modern world. It is such prophets who will lift up Christ as the Saviour from sin and the giver of truth and life, who will create sacrificial churches, eager for the great venture of winning men for Christ. It is such prophetic leaders, likewise, who will create a unity of spirit among the followers of Jesus Christ that may or may not result in a union of ecclesiastical bodies. But such a unity of spirit can well exist and flourish in the midst of a diversity of organizations based upon divergent politics and divergent theologies. This very conference was a visible demonstration of such a possibility.

LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD

By ELBERT VAUGHAN WILLS, PH.D.

THE quadricentennial anniversary of the publication of Luther's two Catechisms lends timeliness to a discussion of the place occupied by religious instruction in the German elementary school during the period of the Reformation. This problem can perhaps be most advantageously approached through an examination of the development of elementary schools during the period in question with particular emphasis upon their function as media of religious training. The chief sources for such a study are, on the one hand, the school ordinances (*Schulordnungen*), either issued separately or forming portions of comprehensive church codes (*Kirchenordnungen*) for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs under the new conditions brought about by the Reformation, and, on the other, the early catechisms and the formulations of catechetical material which preceded the elaboration of formal catechisms.

The educational changes of the Reformation period modified profoundly many practices which had grown up and become established during the Middle Ages. The characteristics of the Roman schools of rhetoric, upon which the curriculum of secular studies in the Latin schools of medieval Europe was modelled; the formulation of the subject matter of this curriculum into the Seven Liberal Arts, through the work of Martianus Capella, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of

Seville; the decline, during the fifth century, of the public schools of rhetoric, save in Italy; the development of cathedral and canonicate schools for the training of diocesan clergy; the rise of monastic or cloister schools and the services of the monks in keeping alive the vestiges of classical culture; and the epochal services of Charlemagne and his great minister, Alcuin, in behalf of education, are familiar matters of history and formed the background of the chapter of educational development with which we are here concerned.

While the available materials enable us to reconstruct a detailed picture of the Latin schools of the Middle Ages, cathedral, canonicate, and monastic, and while the nature of the education imparted to young nobles in the feudal castle is well known, the problem of determining the extent and character of the training, religious and secular, received by the people at large is a difficult and controverted one. The conclusions of historians differ diametrically. There are on the one hand the views of such writers as Janssen, Kaisser, Marique, and many others, who hold that instruction was generally available to the populace during this period. Marique states his conclusions as follows:

The decrees of councils and synods, the records of cathedrals, parishes, and towns and the testimony of contemporary writers, all bear witness to the never flagging interest of the Church in this matter and one is permitted to draw the conclusion that parish work in the Middle Ages always included elementary instruction of some kind. [*History of Christian Education*, vol. I, p. 140.]

As illustrative of the opposite view, there is, for example, the statement of Sander: "It is only legend, a recent legend, this pretended full-blown elementary school (*Volksschule*) of the Middle Ages." Meyer and Prinzhorn have observed that the Protestant claim to

the establishment of the German elementary school has led, on the Catholic side, to a disposition, on the one hand, to find the origin of these schools in the period of the enlightenment in the eighteenth century, or, on the other, to trace their beginnings to the early Christian church.

While a detailed examination of the evidence cannot be undertaken within the scope of the present study, suffice it to say that the available sources indicate that the correct view lies between the two extremes. The cloister schools received pupils not intended for orders (*externi*) as well as neophytes (*oblati*), and among the former, to some extent at least, trained pupils who sought only a knowledge of reading and writing with the regimen of the discipline and the religious guidance of these schools. In his General Admonition, of 789 A.D., Charlemagne counseled that "schools be established in which boys may learn to read." In his Capitulary, of 802-813, he further commanded that "laymen shall learn thoroughly the creed and the Lord's prayer." "So long as Charles the Great reigned," says Barth, "his edict was certainly carried out over a wide area. . . . In the later Middle Ages, however, the power of the State became steadily weaker, and accordingly we hear no more of the instruction of the whole people." Karl Schmidt observes that "the point of emphasis in this period lay not in the *Volksschulen* and in the enlightenment of the people, but in the training of the clergy, and this took place in the cloister and cathedral schools."

Pronouncements of popes, councils, and individual ecclesiastics, however, attested an interest in the training of the people in the elements of religion. Pope Leo IV commanded such teaching. A Mainz council

before the middle of the ninth century decreed that children should learn, either in cloister or in parish schools, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue. Generally, however, it appears that these essential elements of Christian instruction, which had been thus employed by the church from the earliest times, were committed to memory in the Latin, even by the unlearned.

Reu has pointed out five means by which religious instruction was imparted to the young during the century preceding the Reformation. Parents and sponsors were charged with the duty of providing such instruction. The visitation records of the Reformation period, however, showed a degree of ignorance such as to indicate a widespread disregard of this precept. Ecclesiastical ordinances requiring the reading from the pulpit of the Chief Parts used for religious instruction were frequently renewed and were obeyed by not a few of the clergy. Through confession the church exercised a measure of control in holding parents and sponsors to their obligation as to imparting religious instruction to the young. A number of manuals appeared, the majority of which were for the use of the educated clergy or of the adult laity, either for devotions or in the instruction of children. Three of these manuals, however, were intended for the use of the young directly, namely, Gerson's *A B C des Simples Gens*, a manuscript copy of which was discovered in Paris and published in 1881; *The Table of the Christian Life* (*Die Tafel des christlichen Lebens*), the authorship of which is unknown, and which appeared near the close of the fifteenth century; and the *Catechyzon*, by the English Humanist, John Colet, issued in 1510. Of these works the first two contained the text of the Lord's Prayer, the

Ave Maria, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, with other material, such as tables of cardinal virtues, gifts of the Holy Ghost, Beatitudes, and sacraments. Colet's manual was intended for the pupils of his Latin school. Memorization and recitation, rather than explanation and understanding, were insisted upon. Finally, in the Latin schools, there was religious instruction, along with moral precepts from classical antiquity; and there were, as the medieval counterpart of the early Christian catechumenate, parochial schools in which religious instruction was imparted. According to Dittes, the latter were generally for religious training only, after the manner of the ancient catechumenate, hence "reading and writing can scarcely have constituted subjects of instruction in the oldest parochial schools."

The Middle Ages witnessed a marked development of pictorial and dramatic teaching. "A fundamental principle in religious instruction," says Janssen, "was that pictures were the books of the illiterate. . . . Especially in the latter part of the fifteenth century we find this picture teaching in vogue." While in exceptional instances instruction in reading and writing apparently accompanied religious teaching, and while religious training in the vernacular was furthered by the work of the Brethren of the Common Life in teaching and in the copying and, later, in the printing of religious writings, it is safe to assert that there was no general development of elementary education from this source in the medieval period. Heppe has shown that during the Middle Ages there was no definite interest or sense of need that would create elementary schools, and that the very concept (*Begriff*) of the *Volksschule* in the post-Reformation meaning of the term was lacking.

The rise and growth of commercial cities in Germany and the Netherlands during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rendered necessary the provision of instrumentalities for lay education in addition to those afforded by the cathedral, canonicate, and cloister Latin schools. Hence arose city Latin schools. The licensing of teachers by church officials was a custom of long standing. The Third Lateran Council, of 1179, made this the duty of the *Scholasticus*, or head master of schools under the direction of a bishop. Müller's collection contains many documents relating to agreements between *Scholastici* and city authorities whereby the right of maintaining a limited number of city schools was granted. In most instances these documents recite as the occasion of dispute the existence in the cities of unauthorized adventure teaching, and the city authorities undertook, in consideration of the granting of concessionary schools, to suppress the unauthorized or hedge-schools (*Winkelschulen*). The city council of Lucerne, for example, forbade, in a decree issued about 1310, the private teaching of boys above the age of seven years. An ordinance issued in 1320 by Johann III, Duke of Lorraine, Brabant, and Limburg, provided for the authorization for the city of Brussels of five undermasters for the teaching of boys who were to be instructed in "grammar, in music, and in good conduct [*Sitten*]," while four teachers were to be provided "faithfully to teach the girls the rudiments [*kleinen Dinge*] up to Donatus and no further." At the same time unauthorized teachers were forbidden to give instruction.

The scope of the work of the city schools has been the occasion of much of the controversy concerning the nature and extent of the school instruction in the Ger-

man states and cities prior to the Reformation. In many such discussions no effort has been made to distinguish clearly between city, or concessionary, Latin schools and those teaching the vernacular. The presence in early records of the name of a city teacher is taken as indicative of the existence of a school. Vogelmann, indeed, argues against a sharp distinction which would limit the designation of *Volksschule* to the school imparting elementary vernacular instruction. "For the life of the burgher," he says, "a knowledge of the Latin language, which among occidental peoples had almost become a second mother tongue, was indispensable in ecclesiastical and political affairs." It is not surprising, therefore, that opposing conclusions have been drawn concerning the extent to which vernacular instruction was imparted by the early schools.

Investigations reveal the existence of city schools in the chief commercial municipalities, and in many of the smaller cities as well. There are many regional studies, of which only a few specimens can be mentioned here. Schöttle's examination of the records of early schools in southern Württemberg, published in 1883, enumerates seventeen cities, towns, and villages of that district in which references to the names of teachers or similar records supply a basis for inferring the existence of schools during the pre-Reformation or early Reformation periods. Meister found references to schools in twenty-five Württemberg cities and towns, the earliest of these records concerning a school at Isny and bearing date of 1242. Stälin mentions thirteen Württemberg cities as having records of schools dating between 1267 and 1304. Schmid's comprehensive study of pre-Reformation schools in Württemberg cites references to nineteen such schools. Dealing in his enumeration

with a far more extended area, Masius mentions twenty-two cities in which schools were established between the beginning of the thirteenth and the latter part of the fourteenth centuries.

These city schools were Latin schools. Their masters were generally ecclesiastics. That many schoolmasters were men of culture is attested by the records. On account of their superior knowledge of the Latin language, these schoolmasters often held also offices such as those of notary and city scribe.

While a greater measure of prominence was attached to city Latin schools because of the importance of the Latin as the language of legal and commercial documents, and because, in addition to preparing the sons of the burghers for the commercial life of the towns, these schools prepared students also for the universities, the needs of the commercial cities brought into being also vernacular elementary schools. To supply the need for the teaching of handwriting and the arithmetical processes necessary for commercial computation, there grew up private schools maintained by adventure teachers. Those schools, which gave particular attention to handwriting for the training of scriveners, were known as "writing schools." Others taught reckoning, alone or in connection with reading and writing. The schools intended to provide elementary instruction in the vernacular were known as "German schools." The numerous references to unauthorized teaching appearing in the early ordinances and contracts make it apparent that most of the hedge-schools were of this variety.

Gradually, however, the vernacular schools, like the city Latin schools, came to be recognized and sanctioned in the agreements between the city authorities and the *Scholastici*. In Lübeck it appears that four writing

schools were established soon after 1317 in the four parishes of the city. A compact concluded on August 6, 1418, for regulating the relations of ecclesiastical and civil authorities concerning these schools provided that, whereas the burghers of the city had had "many schools that are called writing schools, to the detriment and injury of the rights of the Scholastery, which they conduct against the will of the Scholasticus and without his permission, and in these schools instruct children in writing, for which they take and keep the fees," there should be maintained thereafter four writing schools "where alone children shall be taught to read and write in the German only." The Brunswick compact of February 24, 1420, likewise gave to the townsmen the right to maintain writing schools, but provided that "no one shall teach more in the writing schools than writing and reading, the alphabet and German books and letters."

An ordinance issued by the Burgomaster and council of Bamberg on April 25, 1491, is the earliest of the documents included in Müller's collection to characterize teachers of the vernacular as "German schoolmasters and schoolmistresses." The requirements set forth were designed to insure the faithful performance of their duties on the part of the teachers, who were required to instruct their pupils in "reading, writing, propriety [*Zucht*], and conduct [*Ersamkeit*]." Particular stress was placed upon the inculcation in the pupils of correct habits of conduct, and, in order that the example of the teacher might reinforce precepts in the direction of decorous demeanor, it was required that all seeking permission from the council to conduct schools should agree under oath to be bound by the provisions of the ordinance.

While there were city Latin schools and city ver-

vernacular schools, there were also in some instances vernacular departments in Latin schools. An agreement drawn up in Hamburg about 1456 to adjust a dispute between the *Scholasticus* and the townsmen concerning schools provided that four writing schools should be maintained in the city, and in addition that if teachers should desire "to teach writing and reading in the Latin schools, for the established tuition as fixed by the Council for its schools, this shall be permitted." Such arrangements, however, appear to have been the exception and not the rule. More generally the use of German by the pupils in the Latin schools was punished upon detection, as prescribed in the Stuttgart ordinance of 1501.

"The church," says Reu, "gave no religious instruction in the city schools." Likewise, religious training was lacking in the hedge-schools.

Summarizing this sketch of pre-Reformation educational conditions, we have found four types of elementary schools: (a) Parochial schools, generally imparting religious instruction only; (b) the city vernacular schools for the teaching of reading, reading and writing, or reading, writing, and arithmetic, existing under the authorization of the municipal authorities and ordinarily under permissory arrangement with the ecclesiastical authorities; (c) the vernacular departments in Latin schools; and (d) hedge-schools (*Winkelschulen*), which appear to have persisted despite efforts to suppress them, and which, in some quarters at least, were more numerous than the authorized schools. These non-descript schools existed without either municipal or ecclesiastical authorization, and, moreover, in the face of deep-seated hostility on the part of the authorized teachers, both on account of economic competition and

because of the alleged subversive effect of the hedge-schools upon discipline.

It was the work of the Reformers to evolve the Reformation *Volksschule*, an elementary school for the enlightenment of the people, and combining in its regimen instruction in the vernacular elementary branches and religious training. The first step in this direction we find in Luther's work in behalf of the religious training of the young. In its initial form, this placed the chief emphasis upon training in the home. Most important in creating a universal need for vernacular education among the masses was Luther's translation of the Bible.

The educational ideal of the Reformation was in the first of these aspects, through its emphasis upon Christian piety, was favorable to the general diffusion of the education necessary for the reading of the Scriptures. The cultural aspect of the movement, on the other hand, first place religious and in the second cultural. The interacted with the theological interest of the Reformers to further an emphasis upon training in the classical languages rather than in the vernacular. The Reformers were constantly mindful of the necessity of a knowledge of the learned languages in the comprehension and interpretation of the Scriptures. In both Luther and Melanchthon, moreover, the Humanistic interest was strong. These influences led to the reform of universities already in existence, the founding of new universities, beginning with Marburg in 1527, and the establishment of Humanistic secondary schools.

In Luther's letter *To the Councilmen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools*, issued in 1524, after stressing the importance of religious training and the necessity of a knowledge of the learned

languages for the understanding and interpretation of the Scriptures, he proceeds to show the inadequacy for the young of home training and discipline when unaided by institutional education, and to point out that the city councils must assume the task of providing for the instruction of the people. While he advocated a practical education as a preparation for the duties of life, his emphasis was primarily upon the study of the learned languages.

Luther had already pointed out the place of the state in educational endeavor in his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, in 1520. The thought is further developed in his *Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School*, prepared in 1530. He advocated a system of education to consist of elementary schools, Latin secondary schools, and universities. Apparently he thought of the elementary schools primarily as concerned with the education of girls. Even here he was not definitely committed to vernacular instruction. In the *Address to the Christian Nobility* he voiced the hope for a school in each town, "in which girls might be taught the Gospel for an hour daily, either in German or Latin." Through the Leisnig code of 1523, he approved the instruction of girls in "reading and writing in German a few hours daily." While he doubtless contemplated vernacular instruction for boys of menial station, his emphasis in advocating the education of boys was upon the Latin school. In the dedicatory letter to the *Sermon*, he condemns the "worshiper of Mammon" who "will withdraw his son from school and say that 'a knowledge of arithmetic and reading is enough, since we now have German books, etc.', and thus set a bad example before pious citizens, who follow him to their injury, in the opinion that he has done well. . . . For

a congregation, and especially a large city must have not only merchants, but also people who know more than arithmetic and reading in German books." Not only the capable but also the less promising boys, according to the *Sermon*, "should learn at least to understand, read, and write Latin. For we need not only learned doctors and masters in the Scriptures, but also ordinary pastors. . . . And if such a boy who has learned Latin afterwards works at a trade, you will have him in reserve, to labor as a pastor in case of need."

Melanchthon, most of all among the leaders of the Reformation, was influenced by the ideals of Humanism, and while he richly merited the title of *Praeceptor Germaniae*, by which posterity has known him, he furthered directly the development of Latin schools and universities, rather than that of vernacular elementary schools. In the Saxon code of 1528, he required that "teachers must be careful to teach the children Latin only, not German, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, as some have heretofore done, burdening the poor children with such a multiplicity of pursuits, that are not only unproductive, but positively injurious." Melanchthon, then, was the spiritual father of the Humanist *gymnasium* rather than the champion of the vernacular elementary school. Indirectly, however, as we shall see, he exerted, as a writer of text-books, an influence of prime importance upon the development of religious instruction in the elementary schools, through the widespread use in these schools of his *Enchiridion* and through the influence which this manual exerted in determining the scope and subject matter of similar publications intended for the training of children.

In addition to the pre-Reformation catechetical manuals which we have already enumerated, there

should also be mentioned the erotematic catechism of the Bohemian Brethren, which appeared in 1502. This was translated into German in 1521 or 1522. It underwent many revisions and modifications and was extensively employed in the religious instruction of youth.

Luther's efforts in behalf of the religious training of youth took definite form at the beginning of the Reformation in his earliest catechetical manual. Between June, 1516, and Shrove-tide, 1517, he delivered sermons in Wittenberg on the Ten Commandments. In 1518 he published an abstract of these sermons. In the same year he brought out in wall chart form a brief exposition of the Ten Commandments. This form adapted it for popular use. Following the invention of printing, the wall chart form was used extensively in the picture teaching to which reference already has been made. Cohrs cites a confessional table dating from 1481 as an early example of the *Katechismustafel* which was not only attached to walls or doors but was used by pupils in the schools after the manner of the familiar hornbook. The work was subsequently issued in book form.

In the following year appeared a popular summary, apparently by Spalatin, of an exposition of the Ten Commandments prepared by Luther in Latin for the use of Spalatin in confessional instruction.

Immediately following his sermons on the Ten Commandments, Luther preached, in Lent, 1517, on the Lord's Prayer. A transcript of these sermons was issued by Johannes Agricola early in 1518. Apparently Luther was dissatisfied with this, for, in 1519, he published his own version, *The Lord's Prayer Explained*. In the same year he brought out two other expositions of the Lord's Prayer.

More important than any of its predecessors among Luther's catechetical works is the manual entitled, *A Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer*, published in 1520. As its first section it included a revision of the *Kurzer Auslegung*, of 1518. The second section, an explication of the Apostles' Creed, consisted of new material. The third section, dealing with the Lord's Prayer, was a revision of the *Kurze Form*, of 1519. Here for the first time Luther produced in assembled form an explication of the three Chief Parts of Christian instruction. Hence this manual is entitled to rank as the first evangelical catechism. However, it was not in erotematic form, and was adapted for confessional instruction rather than for the use of youth of the catechumenate.

The *Short Form*, of 1520, was the basis of Luther's *Little Prayer Book* (*Betbüchlein*), which appeared first in 1522, and which was published in new and enlarged editions almost yearly. Even here Luther still thought primarily of confessional instruction. In his *German Mass* (*Deutsche Messe*), of 1526, however, he commended this manual for use in the religious training of children. Counselling parents to interrogate children upon the religious teaching which they had heard, he concludes: "Such questions may be taken from our little Prayer Book, where the three parts are briefly explained; or others may be made, until the heart contain the whole sum of Christian truth in two parts, as in two purses, which are faith and love."

In 1523 Melanchthon brought out in Latin his *Enchiridion*, which was intended as an evangelical textbook for Latin schools—although it retained the unevangelical *Ave Maria*. In general it continued the practice, familiar in Latin schools under religious

auspices, of serving at the same time the ends of religious teaching and linguistic instruction. In the following year a German translation was published at Wittenberg. This manual became an agency of prime importance in the evolution of the Reformation *Volkschule*. It included the alphabet; vowels and diphthongs; the Lord's Prayer; the *Ave Maria* and the Creed; Psalm 66; the Ten Commandments; St. Matthew 5, 6, and 7; Romans 12; St. John's Gospel 13; the sayings of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, adapted from Erasmus; prayers for children; and a brief concluding section in Greek on moderation (*sophrosyne*). There was thus rendered available for the elementary schools, as well as for home instruction, a manual organizing catechetical material, along with moral precepts from the literature of classical antiquity, in a form suitable for the use of pupils in acquiring a knowledge of reading.

In 1525 there appeared anonymously a manual which was destined, in its various forms, to be used widely as an elementary school text and to exert an important influence upon the teaching of religion in these schools. This was the *Büchlein für die Laien und die Kinder*. The first section of this book contains the Chief Parts, now increased to five. Here for the first time the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper appeared as catechetical elements. Shortly afterward appeared Luther's *German Mass*, in which he specified that on Monday and Tuesday there should be "instruction in German on the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, on baptism and the sacrament, so that these two days preserve and strengthen the catechism in its right understanding." An explication of the Ten Commandments is lacking. The second section of the

manual is largely a compilation from Luther's works. The exposition of the Creed is from the *Short Form*, of 1520; that of the Lord's Prayer is from *The Lord's Prayer Explained*, of 1519. The inclusion of the alphabet, figures, and Biblical proverbs adapted it for use in elementary instruction.

The origin of the *Büchlein* is obscure. It was apparently published in October, 1525, and a Latin version made its appearance in the same year. In several particulars evidence points to Bugenhagen as its compiler. His position as city pastor in Wittenberg and his interest in the training of youth, as evidenced by the educational provisions of the church codes of which he was the author, would account for Bugenhagen's activity in the preparation of such a catechetical manual. While he nowhere makes explicit reference to the *Büchlein*, this fact, as Cohrs points out, is of little significance, for it is probable that he had knowledge of the forthcoming work of Luther and avoided statements which might have operated to retard or prevent the use of the newer manual when the latter appeared.

In its original form the *Büchlein* included the alphabet and German figures. The Zwickau revision, of 1528, was more directly adapted for use in the elementary schools. There was an introduction designed for beginners in reading, which included the alphabet, tables of syllables, names of men, names of women, names of cities and geographical divisions, and common words necessary for reading and writing. These were followed by the *Ave Maria*, the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Benedictus*, concluding with several German hymns.

Bugenhagen included in the Brunswick Church code, of 1528, Latin versions of the Ten Command-

ments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, providing at the same time for catechetical instruction in the Latin schools, the German elementary schools, and the schools for girls, as well as for the exposition of the Catechism in the churches.

Passing over the remainder of the forty or more evangelical catechetical writings which preceded Luther's *Short Catechism*, mention must be made of the *Fragestücke des christlichen Glaubens*, published, according to Cohrs, between August, 1528, and July, 1529, by Johann Brenz, city pastor at Schwäbisch-Hall. By other writers Brenz's work is referred to 1527, and is often considered the earliest evangelical catechetical manual. The short catechism is a brief erotematic treatise consisting of twenty-two (the Latin version contains twenty-three) questions and answers, which, according to the estimate of Weisenböhler, "although they comprise only a few pages, represent the model of an evangelical catechism." The Five Chief Parts are treated in the succession: Baptism, Creed, Commandments, Prayer, Supper. Following each part is an exposition thereof in the form of an answer to a question as to its meaning. Brenz's more advanced catechism for adults was likewise a brief manual, arranged in erotematic form, consisting of eighty-six questions and answers, and including an ingenious intertwining of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. Brenz's treatment of catechetical material is, as Weisenböhler observes, "practical-personal," and is marked by a note of deep spirituality.

In January, 1529, appeared in wall chart form the first edition of Luther's *Short Catechism*. In May of the same year it was published in book form. It is aside from our purpose here to deal with the influence of this

epoch-making manual, save to point out that it speedily became the norm for evangelical religious instruction. Brenz, in 1535, influenced apparently by Luther's work, prepared a new catechism, shorter even than his earlier work and including the Five Chief Parts in the order: Baptism, Creed, Prayer, Commandments, Supper, with the addition of a sixth, "Of the Office of the Keys," an order which was adhered to by the Württemberg Church. This, through its incorporation in the Württemberg Church code, of 1536, became the official catechism of Württemberg.

Having surveyed briefly the leading formulations of the materials of religious instruction during the early Reformation period, we turn now to an endeavor to trace the development of the Reformation elementary school combining moral-religious training with the elementary instruction requisite for the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular. The process can best be understood by an examination of the leading codes in accordance with which the Reformation was carried out, and institutions over which there was a measure of ecclesiastical control regulated, in the various cities and states. Ecclesiastical power being recognized as limited to the spiritual sphere (*Schlüsselgewalt*), while the power of the sword (*Schwertgewalt*) was an attribute of temporal rulership, these regulatory ordinances were ordinarily issued by temporal authority.

Among the states and free cities in which the Reformation was effected, the first step in the readjustment was the promulgation of the regulations to be observed under the new order. These took the form of general ecclesiastical constitutions (*Kirchenordnungen*), which prescribed articles of belief, the form and ceremonies of worship, and the details of institutional

regulation. These church codes were usually put into effect by a visitation. The Mass was reformed by the simplification or omission of parts of the ceremonial, and the Latin was generally replaced by the vernacular. This transformation began among the more radical of the Reformers as early as 1521. Luther's *German Mass* was not issued until 1526, and even then the use of this vernacular order of service was not made mandatory.

Schools were among the institutions for which regulatory ordinances were specified in most of these codes. At first it does not appear that there was a clear conception of the need for the instruction of the people in vernacular reading and writing as distinguished from a command of the Latin. In addition, moreover, to those codes which do not specifically mention vernacular schools, we find a number scarcely less which provide only for German schools for girls. These include the codes for Leisnig (1523), Hesse (1526), Wittenberg (1533), Lippe (1538), and many others.

One school ordinance belonging to this period, however, deserves particular attention for the reason that it indicates, along with vernacular instruction in Latin schools, the early development among the Reformers of the use of catechetical material in such instruction. This is the Zwickau document, of 1523, prepared by Leonhard Natther. This has been characterized by Müller as "the earliest separate school ordinance and the oldest evangelical school and study ordinance proper, the oldest product of the nature of humanism permeated by the spirit of the Reformation." It provided for a Latin school along Humanistic lines, and resembling the schools later developed by Sturm and Trotzendorf. However, provision was also made for "those who desire to learn only to write German, to read,

and to reckon." Here the use of Melanchthon's *Handbüchlein* was specified. It is further significant that the Zwickau ordinance bears date of 1523, while the German edition of Melanchthon's manual is dated 1524. It seems, therefore, that the use of this book was specified prior to its actual appearance in finished form.

Many of the early codes provide for the vernacular instruction of boys in Latin schools, a practice dating, as we have found, from the pre-Reformation period. Examples of this type, in addition to the Zwickau document already noted, are the codes for Stralsund (1525), Hall (1526), and Baden (1536). The Hall code is deserving of particular consideration inasmuch as it was the work of Brenz, who later formulated the educational provisions of the Württemberg code, of 1559, the earliest to provide a unified system of schools from the vernacular elementary grades to the university. In the Hall code, however, while boys might receive vernacular instruction in the Latin schools, and the teaching of girls was required to be conducted by a suitable schoolmistress, formal religious instruction in the vernacular school was apparently not required. Instead there were instituted three early morning services each week, on Sunday and on two week-days, replacing the former matins. In these the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were to be taught to the children. It was perhaps this religious teaching which brought home to Brenz the need for a suitable manual and led to the preparation of his first catechism, which has already been described.

In the so-called "Saxony Plan," which formed the school ordinance included in the Saxon Church code, of 1528, Melanchthon made no provision for vernacular elementary schools. However, he advanced a step

beyond the instructions concerning religious training in church and home given by Luther in the *German Mass* by making catechetical instruction an integral part of the curriculum of the Latin schools through providing that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and certain psalms should be taught and explained in these schools. The use of Melanchthon's *Enchiridion* as a primer for beginners in reading was specified. It has been assumed, by Barth for example, that this ordinance furnished the model for the provision for catechetical instruction in schools made in the codes issued later by the Reformers. Here, however, it should be remembered that Melanchthon had before him the example of the religious instruction of the medieval Latin schools, and that his manual had been specified for use in Zwickau at least four years earlier.

Most important among Bugenhagen's contributions to educational development were the school ordinances of the codes which he prepared between 1528 and 1531 for Brunswick, Hamburg, and Lübeck. In the preparation of the Brunswick code, of 1528, Bugenhagen was called upon to adjust to the new conditions city vernacular schools. We have found that such schools arose from and ministered to the practical needs of the burghers, and that religious training did not form a part of their curricula. The Brunswick code provided that the two German schoolmasters appointed by the city council should receive each year presents from the general church treasury (*Schatzkasten*). In return for these allowances, it should be their duty to teach the children at suitable times from the Word of God, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the two sacraments, and Christian hymns. Thus medieval city vernacular schools were transformed at a stroke

into *Volksschulen*. Schools for girls were also required to be maintained.

In Hamburg likewise we have found already that vernacular teaching antedated the Reformation. Bugenhagen's school ordinance, embodied in the code which he prepared for the city in 1529, provided that the school attached to the church of St. Nicholas should be maintained as a German writing school and should be in charge of a master assisted by two other teachers. The pupils were required to be instructed in religion and in sacred music. The ordinance further specified that a school for girls be maintained in each parish of the city. The curriculum of these schools consisted of reading, singing, the Catechism, and Biblical history. This required one or two hours daily. When not thus occupied the girls were to study and to assist their parents in order to become familiar with household tasks.

Primarily as a basis for catechetical instruction in Hamburg, Bugenhagen issued a Low German translation of Luther's *Short Catechism*, which at that time had just appeared in High German.

Two years later Bugenhagen prepared a church code for the city of Lübeck. We have found already that this city had developed vernacular schools during the Middle Ages. Concerning these schools Bugenhagen's ordinance provided that "The German schoolmasters may continue to conduct these as they have done heretofore and receive their pay from their pupils. We would be willing, when the condition of the general church treasury [*Schatkaste*], would permit, to come to the assistance of one or two of the leading German schoolmasters." These teachers were required to instruct their pupils in the reading of the Catechism or selections from

the New Testament and in the singing of Christian hymns. Three schools for girls were provided.

In the Pomeranian Church code, of 1535, Bugenhagen dealt with a province in which the development of education, even in the cities, was more retarded than in those cities which had been the scene of his earlier labors. Here he stipulated that schools should be maintained in all cities, while in the villages the sacristans were required to teach the Catechism as assistants to the pastors. The Latin schools were modelled on those of Saxony. Hedge-schools were forbidden. Writing schools in the cities were subject to the approval of the city councils. In these schools teachers were required to instruct their pupils in German psalms, Scriptural proverbs, and the Catechism. The writing-school masters were allowed grants in return for this religious instruction, as in the regulations for Brunswick.

Similar provisions as to religious training in vernacular schools appear also in the Hanover code, of 1536, which was prepared by Urbanus Rhegius. Here the school ordinance specified that both Latin and vernacular schools should be maintained. A teacher in the latter "must not only be versed in writing and reading German, but must also know his Catechism, so that he can also instruct the beloved youth in Christian doctrine and conduct. However, should anyone, man or woman, seek to pollute our youth with error, he or she shall be punished like other blasphemers."

As the codes of Bugenhagen are our chief sources for the establishment of the *Volksschule* in North Germany, so the history of educational development in Württemberg, the scene of the labors of Brenz, is most important for our knowledge of the growth of vernacular elementary education in South Germany. Eugen

Schmid's monograph on the history of elementary education in Württemberg is of value in revealing the steps by which such schools were developed in that duchy. The Reformation in Württemberg was instituted officially in 1534. The leaven of the movement, however, had long been operative. As early as 1522 Matthew Alber of Reutlingen had reformed the Mass. Brenz, at Hall, had discontinued the use of the Roman Catholic Mass in 1523. The code which provided for the general establishment of the Reformation in Württemberg was issued in 1536, and is known generally as the "Little Württemberg" code. It was the work of Schnepf and Blaurer and was revised by Brenz. It included no provisions for schools as such, but embodied Brenz's revised Catechism and provided for catechization in the churches and also that the youth be drilled regularly in the singing of psalms and Christian hymns in the vernacular.

Beck's essay on the beginnings of the *Volksschule* system in Württemberg, published in 1876, contains a paragraph which furnishes a succinct summary of the criticism often urged against the Reformers on the ground that they were remiss in advancing the cause of vernacular elementary education. He says:

It may arouse wonder that the thought of the general enlightenment of the people through German schools . . . came . . . first in the second generation of the Reformation period. There were in the fundamental principles of the Reformation many factors contributing momentum to the establishment of German *Volksschulen*; the material principle of the Reformation, the doctrine of justification through faith alone, demanded a great spiritual uplifting of the people; the formal principle of the authority of Scripture required capacity on the part of the individual member of the community for reading the Scriptures; the German national spirit, so strongly emphasized by Luther himself, demanded also in

the school emancipation from the Roman system which had been renounced.

Beckh concluded that the German *Volksschule* was the fruition of the evangelical catechetical instruction imparted by the sacristans of the churches. "In this catechetical instruction of youth," he says, "we have the beginning and germ of the German *Volksschule*, and the sacristan or sexton expounding the Catechism is, so to speak, the embryo of the German *Volksschule* teacher." Schmid's findings, resulting from his study of the records of schools in Württemberg prior to and during the Reformation period, led him to take issue with Beckh's view. He found that the establishment of the Reformation in Württemberg was followed by the rapid multiplication of German schools, not merely in the cities but also in the villages. He attributes a large measure of influence in this development to the activity of Brenz, and gives an important place to the effect of Luther's writings, particularly his letter *To the Councilmen of All the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools*. The evidence of the popular demand for education he finds in the numerous petitions from local authorities for grants from the ducal government for the purpose of establishing schools.

Schmid concluded, in the second place, that to the evangelical pastors should be accorded a large measure of honor for having exerted a profoundly significant influence upon the spread of vernacular elementary education. In a great number of villages he found that the first teacher was not the sacristan, but the pastor. This teaching office of the pastor took its origin from religious instruction. Finding some measure of basic training essential for the understanding of catechetical instruction, the pastor went further and instructed the

children also in reading and writing. This practice proved an agency of vital importance to the evangelical church in maintaining itself under the Interim of Augsburg, of 1548, which followed the victory of the imperial forces over the Schmalkald League at the battle of Mühlberg. Many of the evangelical clergy who lost their places turned to school-keeping, and in connection with their activities in the schools performed services which they could no longer exercise as pastors, namely, preaching and sacramental ministrations.

Finally, in many villages vernacular schools were established on the model of, and through the influence of, the German schools in the cities, and here, as had already been the practice in the case of the Latin schools of the Middle Ages, the combination of school service with sacristan service was frequent. This practice furnished the factual basis for Beckh's generalization, which, however, was too sweeping in its scope.

Prior to the promulgation of a revised church code for Württemberg in 1559, Duke Christopher directed, according to Schmid, that there be obtained, through the ecclesiastical authorities and the bailiffs throughout his duchy, information concerning each locality as to Latin or German teachers, their compensation, income and revenues of sacristies and schools, whether sacristan service and teaching service were combined or separate, whether beadle service was included, whether there was a schoolhouse, the attendance for each school in summer and in winter, and the tuition paid. In the reports rendered 194 schools were enumerated. Of this number 38 gave instruction in both Latin and German and 156 exclusively in German. It thus appears that the zeal for education had been widely operative, and, as Schmid observes, "there cannot be denied to the first generation

of the Reformation period the glory of having done its part for the enlightenment of the people by means of German schools."

The school ordinance forming part of the Württemberg Church code, of 1559, provided for elementary schools in which children were to be instructed in vernacular reading, writing, religion, and sacred music; for German writing and reckoning schools in the cities; for Latin schools in the cities and larger villages; for cloister schools, lower and higher, for the training of theologians; for secondary schools in several cities; and finally, as the capstone of the system, for the University of Tübingen.

In the elementary schools boys and girls were to be taught separately. The children were to be divided into three grades, one made up of those learning the alphabet, the second of those beginning to syllabify, and the third of those acquiring a knowledge of reading and writing. In the teaching of reading the Catechism, the Psalter, and selections from Jesus Sirach, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the New Testament were used. Periods were set aside for the recitation and explanation of the Catechism, for practice in the singing of hymns, and for the memorization of the German menology.

It was required of a teacher that in matters of religion he be "not unorthodox, sectarian, or superstitious, but of the pure, true, Christian faith according to the Augsburg Confession and that of our own code," that he understand the Catechism, and that he be able to impart it intelligently to the children and instruct them simply in its meaning. Sacristan service and school service were permitted to be combined. In schools teaching German only the pastors were designated as superintendents. They were required to visit the

schools, to observe the conduct of the schoolmaster in instruction and discipline, to examine the pupils in the Catechism and in the alphabet, spelling, reading, and writing, and to "take note in the church from the singing and the Catechism whether the schoolmaster has industriously instructed the children therein."

The influence of the Württemberg code was far-reaching. Schmid shows that in that duchy, as contrasted with the 194 schools reported in 1559, there were in 1581 no less than 310 school teachers. Of these 36 had charge of Latin schools. Of the remaining 274 a few had both Latin and German pupils; the remainder had German pupils only. Beyond the confines of Württemberg, too, the influence was noteworthy. In the code adopted for Saxony, in 1580, the elementary school provisions of the Württemberg code, of 1559, were reproduced with only a few minor modifications. The most significant of these changes with reference to religious instruction was the requirement that the basis of this instruction be the Catechism of Luther instead of that of Brenz.

While many vicissitudes awaited the *Volksschule* system, its distinctive characteristics appeared during the period from 1528 to 1580. Thus there emerged an elementary school ministering, through the teaching of the elementary branches in the vernacular and through the regimen of catechetical training, to the enlightenment of the people, not merely in the cities, but in the villages and hamlets as well. The aim, as stated by the Württemberg code, was education in the fear of God, sound doctrine, and good conduct; or, in modern parlance, religious, moral, and intellectual education. To the end of religious training ministered the drill in the Catechism. For this reason also the subject matter

read in the elementary schools was chosen almost entirely from the Scriptures or from the Catechism, or else from moral proverbs or fables from the literature of classic antiquity.

Thus the changes of the Reformation period produced, on the one hand, a need for the ability to read the vernacular Scriptures, furnishing an impelling motive for training in reading and writing which had already been demanded in the cities to meet the needs of commercial life; and, on the other, a definite and uniform catechetical training which passed over from the home and the church to the school as the chief instrumentality of its impartation. These schools came within the purview of the ordinance-making power of the state as a corollary of the Reformers' theory of the relation of church and state. Hence we may conclude, with Johannes Müller, that "through the Reformation there was laid in religious instruction the widest and surest foundation for the *Volksschulen*."

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

THE REVIEW

CURRENT THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY

GIVEN SIMPLY TO REFLECT A VARIETY OF MINDS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, the brief quotations immediately following do not necessarily represent this quarterly. They need no individual comment:

"The soul is dyed the color of its leisure thoughts."—*Dean Inge*.

"People very seldom lose their religion by a blowout. Usually it is just a slow leak."—*Otis Moore*.

"Only one person can excommunicate us from the true church, and that person is our own self."—*John Oman*.

"Songs in the night belong only to the people of God, and herein we differ from others."—*The Watchman-Examiner*.

"The best way to think about the deepest things is to think about them as simply as possible."—*Dr. John A. Hutton in The British Weekly*.

"We've tried organization; we've tried smartness, wit, the unusual and they're getting us nowhere—Why not try God?"—*Dr. G. Campbell Morgan*.

"If you don't know whether you are on your head or your heels, get on your knees," reads a notice outside the Carver Street Wesleyan Chapel, Sheffield.

"No, it is not the children who develop race prejudices. They merely carry them on under adult pressure!"—*International Journal of Religious Education*.

"Did you ever think of what it means to a lonely boy or girl to get into a home once in a while? Look around your church. Are there any lonely folk?"—*Northwestern Christian Advocate*.

"Fundamentally the American democracy, like our own, is

ruled by sentiment, and in most cases the sentiment is simple, honest, and sincere."—*Charles Mallet in The Contemporary Review (London)*.

"Our American Protestant boy and girl are as little interested in ideas of religion and social ethics as they are in politics and science. They seem to have no ideas on which to build."—*Professor Robert E. Rogers*.

"I have a dark suspicion that some of the modern religious educators do not really know what religion is about. They want a completely rational faith and do not realize that they are killing religion by a complete rationalization."—*Reinhold Niebuhr*.

"One of the greatest fields for religious education is that of optics—training the eyes that they may look out on the world with that marvelous combination which Jesus Christ had, the union of realism with love."—*Halford E. Luccock in the International Journal of Religious Education*.

"If we would control crime in Chicago, we must control the thoughts and aspirations and the ambitions of youth, and the moral and social atmosphere and outlook of the districts and localities where our criminals are trained and nurtured."—*Andrew A. Bruce in the Illinois Crime Survey*.

THE OUTSTANDING PHRASE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IS "justification by faith." It was by grasping the principle here imbedded that the Reformers were able to escape from bondage to the myth of any human mediation between God and the sinner. For them and their followers ever since it not only broke the power of priestcraft, but, vastly more important, it brought the individual soul into immediate communion with his Saviour and Lord and restored to him his rightful spiritual life and moral freedom.

Now, no matter how revolutionary and decisive the believer's experience of conversion, he still finds himself unable to define fully any element in it, since it was not simply an act of his own will, but an unsearchable work of the Spirit of God. However, it is always helpful to have someone give expression to thoughts that illuminate our understanding and deepen our

appreciation of that mighty change we have undergone and know to be a very fact and miracle of God. *The British Weekly*, in speaking of the historic phrase referred to, lifts it above the level of a mere theological term and enriches its meaning when it says:

"It is only with the actual circumstances in our minds, both in the case of St. Paul and in the case of Luther, that we can do justice to that great charter of spiritual liberty—the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Properly apprehended, that doctrine is not only the most adorable revelation of the forgiving heart of God, it is the defence for all time of good sense and simplicity in the Christian religion. What the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ fundamentally declares is this: that God judges a man not by what he is on the outside, but by what he is in the hidden place of his life, where no eye can see him, where only God sees him. And if one could say humbly and with entire truthfulness that into his heart of hearts Christ had come, in that case, though he was but an obscure man and a nobody in the eyes of men—a serf in Luther's day, a slave in St. Paul's—nevertheless he had that within him, the Face of Jesus in his lonely soul, which brought him into the family of God.

"The doctrines of Justification by Faith and the Imputed Righteousness of Christ, are together the formal declaration that God considers the hearts of men, that He judges ever by their interior condition, by what they are in those moments when they are what they are, and in those places where they lay aside the mask!"

ONE OF THE HARDEST THINGS OF LIFE IS WHAT DR. JOWETT called "dry obedience." It is the long march in the desert toward some destination that seems never any nearer, while the dream of what one desires exceedingly, even with holy longing, rises like the mirage, to tantalize—and fade. It takes all one's faith and courage and will to hold the course and press on. But even this common experience has its compensations. When one does arrive, or even if he never arrives, he comes into a strength and understanding he did not possess when he set out. In *F. B. Meyer: Preacher, Teacher, Man of God*, A. Chester Mann gives these heartening words by that great preacher:

"God traverses the dull brown acres with His plow, seaming the yielding earth, that He may be able to cast in the precious grain. Believe that in days of sorrow He is sowing light for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart. Look forward to the reaping. Anticipate the joy which is set before you, and shall flood your heart with minstrel notes when patience has had her perfect work.

"You will live to recognize the wisdom of God's choice for you. You will one day see the thing you wanted was only second best. You will be surprised to remember that you once nearly broke your heart and spilt the wine of your life for what would never have satisfied you, if you had caught it, as the child the butterfly or soap-bubble. You will meet again your beloved. You will have again your love. You will become possessed of a depth of character, a breadth of sympathy, a fund of patience, an ability to understand and help others, which, as you lay them at Christ's feet for Him to use, will make you glad that you are afflicted. You will see God's plan and purpose; you will reap His harvest; you will behold His face."

DOES THE AVERAGE CHURCH MEMBER REALIZE AS HE SHOULD THE deep significance of the Lord's Supper? It is greatly to be feared that many partake of it unworthily. The brief remarks of the minister, which precede the sacrament in many churches, hardly suffice to lay upon the hearts of the people the obligations and privileges of the Lord's table, as well as what it commemorates. This matter ought to be taken most seriously by every pastor. Dr. James H. Snowden, editor of *The Presbyterian Banner*, has given this beautiful and impressive testimony to the prophetic meaning of the communion:

"The ordinance also has in it a gleam of prophecy. It looks back upon the past in remembrance, but it also looks out on the future, 'till he come' in that day when Christ will 'drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.' It thus links Christ's first with his final coming. How slender and frail seems the thread and yet how long it has lasted and will last. How perishable the elements and yet how imperishable the memorial! It is one of the oldest things in the world and will yet outlast all the fabrics of human hands. It must have in it some substance and vitality that cannot die. It has deep rich roots but

it has not yet come to its perfect blossom and ripe fruit. Full of meaning as it is in retrospect, fuller still is its prospect. These symbols are also shadows of things to come which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard."

SOME MINDS NEVER GET BEYOND THE SPECULATIVE STAGE OF Christian thinking. Because the world is ever asking questions about Christ's nature and mission which cannot be answered by reason alone these individuals are ever in an unsettled state. These questions have a way of repeating themselves with each generation, so that we usually have a group of unhappy souls who cannot quite accept fully the Christ of the New Testament, and at the same time are unable to reject Him altogether. They need our sympathy and prayers; but arguments are not likely to help them much, for in Christianity faith is essential to clear judgment. Any Christian apologetic is practically useless unless they are willing to exercise what faith they have, reaching out, even with misgivings, toward Christ as the Son of God and Saviour of men.

One of these recurrent questions is, whether one must accept the Virgin Birth as an article of faith, and it is frequently heard just now. *The Lutheran* editorially disposes of it in this way:

"What does puzzle one is the periodic revival of old controversies. The 'origin of Jesus' was sought as soon as His claim to be accepted as the Saviour of all men was proclaimed to the Gentiles. The testimony of contemporaries was obtained and cited. When the scope of vicarious redemption was investigated: that is, when the right of Christianity to be ranked as the final Word of God in the realm of spiritual and eternal relations was presented, the whole world demanded a reply to the questions, 'Who is He?' and 'By what authority does He declare that whosoever believeth in Him shall be saved from sin and condemnation?' Out of the discussions aroused by these queries, arose the 'confessions' we now rate as our creeds. It is true that these creeds are formal and technical statement of doctrines. They exhibit the manner of speech and the methods of reasoning that result from theological training. But the facts asserted in the creeds are no more manufactured by theologians than are one's clothes manufactured by the

tailor who fashions a piece of cloth into a garment. And facts do not wear out. That anyone finds fault with Luke's history of the event at Bethlehem because the Church in its conflicts with paganism made the distinctive item of that occurrence a basic dogma seems to Lutheranism a travesty on systematic learning, a sentimental rebellion against recognizing truths tested and accepted centuries ago.

"There is neither pertinence nor logic in asking whether the virgin birth of Jesus is essential or non-essential. The proper inquiry must be—Is Jesus the mediator between God and man? If He is the sent One of the Father, then the manner of His incarnation is one of fact and not of proportioning to what is essential. As a fact, we learn it from history written by one or more who knew the manner of His taking our nature. That one in particular was Luke, with Matthew and the early Church to correlate and accredit. It is not the truth that is in circulation in much current literature and controversy, but speculations on how Jesus *might* have become the Saviour of men. We prefer the testimony of witnesses."

WHAT IS AUTHORITY? RIGHT PERCEPTIONS OF ITS NATURE have, like good seed, brought forth a good harvest for mankind; but distorted ideas have produced a lamentable crop of tares. Questions about its meaning, uses, and limitations continue to provoke debate. It was found to be a theme of sufficient importance and dignity to engage the speakers at the Sixteenth Conference of Modern Churchmen, held in September, 1929, at Girton College, Cambridge. No less than fifteen addresses and two sermons upon authority were delivered by eminent churchmen, and covered a very wide range of the use of this term.

An editorial introduction to the issue of *The Modern Churchman* following the conference contains this definition: "Authority is *the right to demand obedience*. It is that which has the right to be obeyed. This right to demand obedience is in popular phrase confused with *the power to enforce obedience*. But, strictly speaking, the power to enforce obedience is no necessary attribute of authority."

This entire issue of the journal named consists of the pro-

ceedings of this august gathering, but we include here excerpts from only the Presidential address, by Dean Inge, upon *Authority and the Life of the Spirit*:

"It is a tenable opinion that although theocratic imperial-ism did valuable work in the Dark Ages, when it kept alive some smouldering embers of culture in an age of chaotic savagery, it has outlived its usefulness as a factor in the higher civilization, which can no longer be 'church-directed,' as Troeltsch says."

"This brings us back to the third religion of authority, which rests on individual inspiration. That we are not left to ourselves in our struggle with evil is the conviction of all religious people. Prayer is not merely a soliloquy, or a moral dumb-bell exercise. We have the privilege of access to God, who hears and answers our petitions. We have the promise of Christ that the Spirit of God—His own Spirit—will teach us all things, and guide us into all truth, as we are able to receive it. The Christian who has practised the presence of God, and has endeavoured to keep his heart pure in order to earn the promise made to the pure in heart, has within him a certainty that nothing can shake, that these promises are fulfilled. This communion with God, which it is the fashion to call religious experience, is the primary ground of faith. Not that it is, or can be, ours to start with, or that it can ever be perfected in this life. What is granted to us is only an earnest, an instalment, of the Spirit. It is not constant; it is often dim and obscure; at times it seems to be withdrawn altogether; but it is a genuine first-hand experience which we could hardly explain away if we wished to do so. It sometimes comes to us through the rites and sacraments of the Church; but by no means always. The Quakers, who do not use sacraments, seem to enter into communion with God as easily and frequently as the Catholics. This is what makes sacerdotalist claims quite untenable. The Spirit has not bound Himself by any forms, and no institution has any monopoly of His most precious gifts.

"We have to consider whether this belief in the inner light is open to the same objections as belief in an infallible Church or an infallible Book. And first we must ask whether this guidance is given only to individuals, or, as Catholics claim, to the hierarchy as representing the Church. Our knowledge of secular institutions makes us reluctant to admit that the deliberations of a Senate, or of the *consilium* of an autocrat, are likely to be on a higher level of morality than the conscience

of a good man acting alone. And when we consider the historical record of any great Church as a political or institutional entity, it is difficult to find traces of wisdom or of high-mindedness which surpass the measure of unaided human intelligence and virtue. Some might think that this statement is much too mild. I do not believe in the doctrine of a 'general will,' distinct from and superior to the wills of the individuals who compose the nation or the corporation; and I attach no sanctity to the general will of the Church, as expressed by the authoritative pronouncements of the hierarchy. It is theoretically possible for a Church, like an individual, to gain the whole world and lose its own soul.

"On the other hand, we must beware of the wilfulness and arrogance of being so sure that we have the mind of Christ, or the gifts of the Spirit, as to disregard the equally firm and sincere convictions of others. The prevailing opinion of the society to which we belong is certainly not infallible, but it is seldom contemptible. The duty of private judgment does not mean the right to pay no attention to the judgments of others. Originality does not mean thinking differently from other people; it only means thinking for ourselves."

ALL THE MORE OR LESS HAZY CURRENT IDEAS ABOUT THE OBJECT of our existence, our ambitions, our ideals, our culture, our satisfactions in life, our social relations, have together found themselves a name, and are by way of crystallizing into a cult—Humanism. It seems difficult to define it very exactly, for it is so inclusive as to give the effect of changing patterns in a kaleidoscope, when the attempt is made to turn it about for examination.

Writing upon Moral Chaos in *The Modern Churchman*, the Dean of King's College, London, Dr. W. R. Matthews, says that three fairly well defined moral doctrines held today may be called Naturalism, Humanism, and Supernaturalism. He distinguishes Humanism and Christianity in this clear manner:

"Humanism suffers in comparison with its rivals by a distressing vagueness, and it would be difficult to collect from the writings of its distinguished exponents any body of doctrine to which all would subscribe. Yet we may be confident that it is destined to be a more formidable rival to Christianity than the naturalist ethics, for it includes many of the values which

have entered into man's struggle for spiritual freedom. Humanism is far from regarding man as merely a clever animal. On the contrary, man and his thoughts and culture are the highest that the universe contains. The significant fact about every individual is that he is a member of the human race which is the bearer and creator of the culture, civilization, knowledge and beauty which raise life above the level of the brute. This great adventure of culture is not finished, the future is full of unknown promise. All may, to some extent, share in the spiritual heritage which has been won, and may in their turn contribute to its riches. To lay one's spirit open to the influence of the human values, and still more, to be worthy to add to them, is no easy task. It cannot be accomplished by 'doing what you will.' It demands a strenuous effort to unify the self, to raise it above the vulgar mediocrity of the mass, and the domination of the instincts. The doubtful religious beliefs which have haunted the minds of men in the past may be left on one side. The sufficient motive and inspiration is the service of the spirit of humanity.

"The moral doctrine which we as Christians represent differs profoundly from either of those which we have briefly glanced at. There is no purpose in attempting to disguise the difference, but rather every reason to state it clearly that the issue may be defined. We shall not commend the Gospel by pretending that it is almost identical with humanism. The difference lies in the conception of the nature of man. What is man? To this question historical Christianity has answered, and Christianity must always answer, that man is indeed a child of nature, but far more; that he is a part of a spiritual development in time, but far more even than this. He is made in the image of God. His roots are in the unseen and the eternal, and his destiny is not circumscribed even by the probable duration of life upon this planet. His end, the fulfilment of his being, is not any achievement of culture or civilization, but the enjoyment and vision of the Eternal End.

"If this is our conception of man our whole series of values will be profoundly affected. We have introduced a new dimension, and it modifies the meaning of every equation. For us man is not simply forward looking, moving through time, but upward looking, having his home in the eternal. We make a mistake when we argue on moral questions on the premises of our opponents. We do not believe that the final word lies with the calculation of convenience or with the interests of culture

and civilization. We believe that the ultimate decision lies with the question, What conduct and what character prepares man for his unseen destiny?"

FROM THE HUMAN POINT OF VIEW THE THING THAT ENABLED the early church to grow and spread with amazing rapidity, even in the face of appalling obstacles, was that world saw in the church something so gloriously different from itself. And this difference lay in a sublime moral superiority, as viewed by the unregenerate observer—"See how these Christians love one another." This capacity for love, and for truth, purity, unselfishness, self-control, patience, self-sacrifice, and endurance, was something to compel the attention of a world where the very opposites determined the conduct of men, of a world whose very religion was the handmaid of depravity.

A religion that could enter the Greco-Roman life of that day and replace hideous superstition with an intelligent faith, bleak despair with an eternal hope, and gross selfishness with a high and noble life—a religion that could do all this, needed no artificial publicity. Moreover, the Christians of that age, men tried in the fire, did not hesitate to give the true answer to those who called for an explanation of the phenomenon. They pointed to a crucified Redeemer as the one remedy for evil, as the one source of light and life.

Now, whenever the church neglects or loses her true message, and begins to offer substitutes she begins to have problems. How is she to gain members; how, in fact, is she going to hold those she has? How can she interest the young people, and how are expenses to be met? How, in short, is she going to make herself interesting to a world that sees in her nothing it cannot provide from its philosophy and its own code?

Dr. William Crowe, writing upon Evangelism, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, submits this answer to the whole question about the church's waning influence and other unfavorable conditions:

"But church attendance is not the problem. It is merely symptomatic of the real trouble. Let us go a little deeper. There we strike the snag of diminishing income for the propa-

gation of the message of the Church. Ministers and office-bearers in the Church stand aghast at the depletion of funds to meet the benevolence budget. The passion for giving seems to have burned out. Only cinders and ashes remain. Exhortations to the pew fall on deaf ears. What is to be done? Business men tell us to reorganize the budget and bring business philosophy to bear upon its execution. Some say this and some say that. Let's have some big conventions and sell the Church again to the crowd. Let's inaugurate a bishop's crusade. Let's re-enlist the women and the young people. But all seems to be of little avail. The outlook is not promising.

"May I remind you again that no way out of the present straits is to be found in a superficial survey of the conditions? Indifference to the budget is not the problem. Like the decreasing church attendance, it is merely symptomatic. Why treat the symptoms? Let's go deeper. When we do, we find that the whole dismal situation is created by confused thinking on the part of preachers and people. We need go no further than that. When the pulpit loses its positive note and the pew its positive faith, that faith that made all things possible, forebodings must prevail. Instead of hearing what the Bible is, we are hearing what it is not. Academic questionings of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are as child's play compared to the declaration of the faithfulness of the God of Abraham. Why fret the public with the deutero-Isaiah theory, when the mighty evangel of the mighty prophet pleads for a spokesman? There are those who are deleting the doctrine of the miraculous birth of the Son of God. The next endeavor will be to list the resurrection as an apocryphal tale. 'Away the supernatural!' is a slogan that gains in popularity. The doctrine of sin is taboo; of regeneration, an apostolic fancy.

"That is the seat of the trouble. Therefore the whole head is sick, the whole heart faint. The consequence to the ordinary church member is that the heroic is left out, and we go jauntily on, thinking that we will arrive somewhere. Up-to-date Epicureanism might be interpreted: 'Let us eat, drink, read magazines, ride in cars, turn on the radio, go to the talkies, make whoopee and be merry, for tomorrow we die.' Dean Inge may be dubbed a gloomy ecclesiastic, but we must pause and listen when he speaks as follows: 'We are losing our Christianity mainly because Christianity is a creed for heroes, and we are harmless, good-natured little people, who want everybody to have a good time.'"

NOT ONLY INDIVIDUALLY BUT COLLECTIVELY WE NEED ENCOURAGEMENT. One of the most distressing and heartbreaking things that a soul brave and ardent in any good cause has to endure is indifference, timidity, weakness, undependableness among his associates. He cannot make them see the truth in all its vital meaning; he cannot rouse them to action when the time for action has come; he cannot inspire them with courage when defeat threatens. They doubt and lag and fear. It is hard for the Christian, either preacher or layman, always to maintain his confidence in the church at a comfortable level. It is hard to do so now. Yet a firm faith in the Lord of the church enables one to take immense comfort from her history, marked as it is by failures and defeats and mistakes.

The pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church of Detroit, Dr. Merton S. Rice, helps us to realize this in a recent sermon from the text, "Being confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun a good work in you will perform it, until the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 1:6). While addressed chiefly to the individuals, this cheering passage was devoted to the church:

"Let me note also the tone of confidence which this fact of our faith puts into the cause of the church. Its best made plans, and its most devoted followers, are often broken, insulted and mocked in their allegiance to high ideals. We are at this very hour passing through a period when the best ideals of Christian living are being mocked by a rampant materialism. The highest standards of Christian conduct are being laughed at by many so-called social standards that would make sport of virtue and shun the holiness of life to which we are called. Perhaps there is, right now, no greater need among us than a great revival of Christian conduct. All down the ages, the church in its rigid espousals and plans, has been opposed by the courted freedom of a sinful indulgence. But the church has neither been slain nor halted. The story is inspiring. The Church of our Lord Jesus Christ has certainly had to suffer disaster. If someone would some day go carefully back along the staggering story of the church and list the defeats as men reckon defeats, it would most certainly seem to be a convincing report to bring that, in spite of all we have suffered, the church is still here.

"All this, however, is strangely interwoven in the fact of our assumed task. Our ideals are vast. We have set ourselves to eternal issues. The very greatness of the involved program makes failure noticeable. An institution of low purpose does not have to suffer the collapse of defeat. It has nothing to establish.

"But amid it all the Church of Christ does come on. Through every opposition and above all the keen cutting criticism there is an attendant triumph which has ever characterized her. Framing her songs even amid the martyrdom of her heroes, she has ever tuned her appeal of recruit, 'Who follows in their train?' Her failures have succeeded. Her defeats have been garlanded. The Church of Christ has been killed only to come forth in new resurrection power. I believe it to be a part of God's program. He is never disheartened. His zeal never abates. We take our confident stand beside our God to declare, as his church, that 'we are confident that he who hath begun a good work in us will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.' "

WHEN ONE CONTEMPLATES THE MANIFOLD ASSAULTS ON TRUTH, on righteousness, and even on liberty itself all over the world today, our own country not excluded, he naturally wonders over the waning influence of the Protestant church. The voice of authority once heard from her pulpit has in great measure died away into a pleasant conversational tone that utters kindly advice, petty sentiment, or into a friendly hail even to those who deny or belittle the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Not in every case, thank Heaven, but in sufficient number to compromise the message and vastly weaken the power of the pulpit as it once was. Dr. William Lyon Phelps of Yale is credited with this reminder:

"I wonder what Jonathan Edwards, Cotton Mather, Cromwell, John Milton, and other hearts of oak, would have thought of the back-patting gospel? These men were free from the taint of self-pity. They did not have to jack themselves up with signs on the wall imploring them to work or commanding them to smile, nor did they bellow their courage in the bath-room. They rather said: 'God, be merciful to me, a sinner.' I believe that an acute consciousness of sin is more needed now than an enormous accession of conceit. The old theologians,

with all their dogmatism, got down to the bedrock of human nature; they believed in the reality of sin, and they did their utmost to convict their audiences; some hearers walked out of church realizing their shortcomings and determined by the grace of God that something must be done to improve the situation. And even now I believe that religious faith will elevate the average man more effectively than he can do it by talking encouragingly to himself. The latter method has all the disadvantage of trying to lift oneself by tugging at one's boot straps."

WE SUSPECT THAT THE BURDENS WHICH MODERN CHURCH AND community life bind upon the shoulders of the average pastor sometimes lead him to forget the central aims of his calling. The movement toward making the church members, especially the officials, feel their obligation to relieve the preacher from administrative duties and annoyances should be helped along. Moreover, the fact that many a pastor is not trained as a business organizer and executive makes the financial problems that must be met in most churches peculiarly onerous to him.

It is small wonder, then, if the preacher falls back upon old, familiar themes—to put the matter as euphonestly as possible—when he comes to prepare his Sunday discourses. It is so much easier to do this than to explain less familiar passages of Scripture for overlooked truths. *The Watchman-Examiner* utters this friendly caution and cites a case in point:

"Moderator McAfee, of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, is trying to persuade preachers to trade their hobbies for horses. It is quite remarkable when we think of it, that most preachers travel back and forth over a very small segment of truth. They have their favorite subjects, and to these they are constantly returning. We do not accuse them of dullness, for in their specialization they have become brilliant. There are, however, immense areas of gospel truth that they never touch. A while ago an unusually able preacher complained to us that there were few conversions under his ministry. We asked him bluntly if he ever preached directly to sinners, seeking to bring them to Christ. He afterwards confessed to us that an examination of his sermon record proved that he preached six sermons to his church to every

one that he addressed particularly to the unsaved. Yet that man expected conversions under his ministry. Let us ministers trade our hobbies for horses."

IT IS SINGULAR FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE WHO MIGHT HAVE SOME difficulty in composing a good personal letter do not hesitate about attempting to "write poetry." This apparently serves as an emotional safety valve for certain souls that cannot express the thoughts that arise in them through the channels of music or public utterance or art. If so it may really serve a good purpose, but in most cases the matter might well end with the writing only. But the fact that it does not always end there has given us some rather appalling "hymns," often set to correspondingly inferior "music."

But who is to judge or set the boundary between good and bad? In none of the arts can there be sharply defined standards. In the case of a hymn perhaps the best measure of its value lies in its lasting effect upon the heart of singer and hearer. It may be evident to persons of average good taste that a certain hymn has a fine literary quality; but, if it moves no one very definitely in the direction of a larger religious experience and life, it has small value as a hymn. Another, decidedly lacking in poetic value, may somehow carry a sentiment that implants in a simple and troubled heart a longing that will not cease till it has found the great Giver of rest. After speaking of this problem offered by the difference between the literary and the practical value of hymns, E. S. Lorenz, writing in *The Christian Century* upon The Gospel Hymn, continues:

"The value of a hymn for actual use, therefore, depends on its appeal to the people who are to sing and to be influenced by it. For a college church, for congregations of highly educated and cultivated people, the literary appeal may well be emphasized, if a deeply devotional effect is to be produced. For congregations of average people, readers of popular magazines, newspapers and light fiction, the literary emphasis already needs to be subordinated. In rude, somewhat illiterate communities, rude hymns of little literary value, but with ex-

pressions of strong feeling, may be the 'best hymns' to be used. That is to say, the 'best hymns' are to be selected by laying stress on the effectiveness of the hymn in producing religious emotion and creating a definitely religious attitude in the particular congregation or community in which it is to be used. To get the same inspiring and enlivening result in three typical congregations, the dignified 'Lead On, O King Eternal,' the gospel hymn, 'Encamped along the hills of light,' and the old fashioned spiritual 'Palms of victory' might each be the 'best hymn,' and each the 'worst hymn' among the other types of people.

"It is a very common saying in this connection that we must not insult God by bringing him anything but our best. That conceives the Divine Being as a literary connoisseur, or as a musical critic, who applies conventional academic criteria in accepting what his people bring him. What does he care for the titling of mint and anise in literary quality or musical technique? What he asks are spiritual results in human life and character, and the 'best hymn' for him is one that lifts and saves souls.

"Again it is insisted that any congregation will respond to the academically best. That is not true! Four-fifths of the congregations in city, village, and rural neighborhoods will not give the desired reaction to such great hymns as 'A mighty fortress is our God,' 'The spacious firmament on high,' or 'The God of Abraham praise.'"

"If we are to eliminate the gospel hymn, what is to take its place? The standard hymn is entirely adequate to provide for the edification of saints, but absolutely inadequate, when alone, to furnish the motive power for conversion of sinners. Jonathan Edwards found the psalm versions unfitted for the great revival and introduced the livelier hymns of Isaac Watts. Finney in turn found Watts and the tunes used with his hymns too dull and Joshua Leavitt issued for him his 'Christian Lyre.' Everybody knows how the gospel hymn was the inspiring element in the Moody and Sankey evangelistic movement in America and Great Britain."

ON THE SECOND DAY OF LAST OCTOBER THERE OCCURRED IN Edinburgh an event said to be probably "the most significant ecclesiastical happening" since the latter part of the sixteenth century. "For on that day," says J. R. P. Sclater in *The*

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, "there appeared in the land the Church of Scotland, United, National and Free." It was also significant for the country, since the history of Scotland and of the church in Scotland are closely interwoven. The whole story of affairs that culminated in the recent reunion of the Scottish church deals essentially with the clash of church and state over ecclesiastical rights.

"The long and detailed story of Scottish Secession and Disruption," says the writer quoted, "is at bottom a simple one, for it consists solely of the efforts of evangelically-minded men to secure for the Christian society the right to live its own life and do its own work, in the way which it holds to be pleasing to its Lord." In the period during which the struggle has been going on the local churches have not always had the right to choose their own ministers regardless of the state. The struggle for freedom produced a divided church, with the bitterness and difficulties to be expected of such a condition. However, the past half-century has seen a better spirit developing, resulting finally in conferences which have now eventuated most happily. These paragraphs from Dr. Sclater's article not only make clear the situation as it now stands, but also throw light on the principles involved:

"These conferences immediately displayed two facts. On the one hand, the United Free Church would enter into no union in which spiritual independence was not wholly secured. But, on the other hand, the Church of Scotland had its *sine qua non*. It would enter into no union which did not secure the national recognition of religion. That principle had been somewhat neglected by the United Free Church; but when it came to be examined it proved to be a real and living thing. It enunciated that the community organized for government ought to recognize Him by whom kings reign and princes decree judgment; that it must have an organ through which such recognition could be made on national occasions; and that it should possess an organ which would be responsible for the religious well-being of those sections of the people which other Churches were unable to reach. In Scotland, by every dictate of history, sentiment and common sense, that organ must be the reconstituted Church of Scotland.

"The achievement consummated on October 2nd is, therefore, the achievement of securing a relation to the State in which these two principles of spiritual independence and the national recognition of religion have been blended. First, the Church of Scotland declared its constitution afresh in the famous articles of 1921, in which spiritual independence is enunciated with a clarity and completeness far beyond the most optimistic dreams of the Disruption fathers; all previous statutes, in so far as they conflict therewith being held to be null and void. At the same time, the historic continuity of the Church of Scotland as the Church of Scotland is retained, not only for the present, but for the future, in any further Unions which it may enter on, within the limits of the Trinitarian Reformation—these limits being imposed by the Church herself. By virtue of these articles, the Church of Scotland, as now constituted, becomes not only a united, but a uniting, Church, armed with both purpose and power to heal further breaches in the Christian body. This constitution was acknowledged by Parliament, which thereby, it is hardly too much to say, for the first time put the conception of a Church on the statute-book; the conception, that is, to-day of a living, growing Society, which could express her life and growth in action, without fear of loss of her goods or of denial of her own identity. By a subsequent Act, the inherited property of the Establishment, including teinds (or tithes), were—on terms that involved some loss to the Church, it is true—handed over to her sole keeping and administration; and, at long last, the 'causes which kept the Churches apart' had ceased to be."

THE CHURCH COLLEGE HAS ITS DEFENDERS AMONG EDUCATORS as such as well as among those who are anxious only lest the influence of religion, at once restraining and inspiring, should disappear from institutions of higher learning. It is difficult to see how one can read history with a broad understanding of its determining factors and fail to realize the contribution made by Christianity to culture. The college under purely secular control is prevented by the very nature of its relation to the public from much more than a formal recognition of Christianity. It cannot press the claims of the evangelical faith lest it offend the non-Christian theist or the frank agnostic. It is

for this reason that many parents have grave misgivings about sending their sons and daughters to the non-church school.

But, aside from questions propounded by the irreligious atmosphere of the purely secular college, there is that of the influence of Christianity upon culture itself. Can higher education afford to neglect the spiritual element in life as represented by the religion of Jesus Christ? Dr. N. J. Gould Wickey, Executive Secretary, Board of Education, United Lutheran Church, answers through *The Lutheran*:

"The college of liberal arts has as one of its functions the preparation or training of students for positions of leadership on the basis of the knowledge of the great facts of historic culture plus a more or less specialized knowledge of some specific field of human activity. The college must not become an institution of vocational or professional training, however noble and necessary such may be. One's professional training needs a background and a basis, if one is to enter any vocation with the proper attitude and understanding.

"The church college, which has made this cultural contribution in the past, is needed to continue it in the future uncontaminated by the demand for immediate and direct values which may be estimated in quantitative terms. Glen Frank is reported to have declared that unless we can correlate the work of all the specialists in education the whole system of education will break down. There is a growing number of thoughtful persons who agree with President Frank.

"But we would contend that the church college, as a college of liberal arts, can make this correlation and evaluation better than any other college of liberal arts. Modern culture is a pitiable object untouched by Christianity. In fact, modern culture would not be what it is without and apart from Christianity. It is for this very reason that the church college, which is unhampered in its exposition of the Christian religion, can give a truer estimation of historic and present-day culture.

"Not only this, but the church college is the one type of college from and by which we expect the Christian culture to be propagated. Our colleges will not attempt to preserve the culture of the past. A preserved culture is dead, as are all preserved things. Our colleges will endeavor to conserve the culture of the past, and adjust and adapt the values thereof to the conditions of the present and future."

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS STILL THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. THE FIRES of persecution may be only smoldering when freedom seems least in peril. And in our age changes come suddenly. A few years have seen old, intrenched monarchical tyranny in Russia exchanged for an even worse tyranny that has arisen from among the people themselves. Despotic minorities obsessed by some belief and determined to foist it upon the world are greater dangers to freedom and progress than any individual tyrant. And years of peace are the seedtime of their propagandists.

It may seem behind the times to look for any violent opposition to religious freedom on the part of the Roman Church now. Yet a careful examination of her more recent expressions upon liberty of conscience indicate that Rome simply waits for opportunity. In a late issue of *The Contemporary Review* Rev. C. J. Cadoux, D.D., has a paper upon Catholicism and Toleration which reviews the evidence of the past century and a quarter respecting the Roman attitude toward religious toleration, and which is to be commended to those who think the Roman Church in sympathy with modern principles in this matter. The facts given afford such ready reference that we quote somewhat extensively:

“Passing over all that happened prior to 1800, let us survey the Church’s record since that date. The Spanish Inquisition, after being abolished by Napoleon, was re-introduced in 1814. In the same year Pope Pius VII restored the Inquisition in the Papal States, and protested against the establishment of religious liberty in France. Next year the Catholic clergy tried hard to induce the King of the Netherlands not to tolerate Protestantism in that country. In 1818 Pius VII denounced the Bavarian constitution on the ground that it granted liberty to Protestants. In 1832 Gregory XVI stated in an encyclical: ‘Out of this most foul fountain of Indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather raving (*deliramentum*), that liberty of conscience is to be asserted and vindicated for everybody.’ In the Catholic *Rambler* for June, 1849, there appeared an article openly defending religious persecution, and in September, 1851, one stating that, if the Church were in a position to resume it, she would be gov-

erned, not by any principle of civil and religious liberty, but solely by the rules of expediency. In 1851 Pius IX concluded a concordat with Isabella II of Spain, according to which all cults other than Catholicism were to be excluded from the country, and all education was to conform to Catholic doctrine. In 1852 he strongly condemned the freedom of worship granted to non-Catholic immigrants in New Granada. At this period the reading and distribution of the Bible were punishable offences in Tuscany, the Grand Duke having (under Papal pressure) abolished the toleration previously in force. In 1853 the Jesuit organ *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome deplored the lapse of the punitive laws against heresy and heartily defended the Inquisition. In 1856 Pius IX protested against the freedom of religious opinion and worship in Mexico; in 1862 his concordat with Ecuador stipulated that no religion but Catholicism should be permitted there, that all education should be Catholic, and that all circulation of books should be subject to ecclesiastical censorship. The same year the celebration of the third centenary of a massacre of Protestants at Toulouse was prevented only by the government's prohibition.

"In December 1864 came the famous encyclical *Quanta Cura*, in which the Pope roundly condemned the discontinuance of the State-coercion of those who violated the Catholic religion. Like Gregory XVI he called liberty of conscience a 'deliramentum,' and contended for the Church's right to coerce the disobedient with temporal penalties. The encyclical was accompanied by a *Syllabus* of eighty erroneous modern opinions, including all those in conflict with the position taken up in it. Towards the close of his pontificate Fra Andrea d'Altogene was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for sending the Pope a book suggesting certain Church reforms. In 1875, in the fourth edition of his *Institutiones*, Cardinal Tarquini defended the doctrine that heretics might be punished by the Church. In Belgium the clerical party made a serious attempt in 1870-1878 to carry out the principles of the *Syllabus*. In January 1877 the *Dublin Review* published a hearty defence of mediæval Catholic intolerance, and pleaded for its continuance in Catholic countries like Spain. About 1879 a Jesuit priest told a group of Protestants at Oxford that he wished he could stamp out Judaism and Protestantism by means of the civil power, explaining: 'I should go for your necks at once.' In 1885 Leo XIII blamed all States that granted equal rights to every creed. In 1888 he issued an encyclical on

Liberty, condemning the view that States ought to tolerate all religions alike, and that it does not belong to the Church to punish, but only to advise; declaring that liberty of worship for individuals is the degradation of liberty and the submission of the soul to sin; and adding significantly: 'although in the extraordinary condition of these times the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty.' The same year the article on 'Häresie' in Volume V of Herder's *Kirchenlexikon* maintained that the Church is competent to punish disbelief in Catholic truth and acts meritoriously in doing so. In 1892 a former professor of Maynooth argued that the Church had a right to require the State's assistance in suppressing heresy. In January 1895 a Capuchin friar published in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* a whole-hearted defence of the mediaeval Inquisition, with apostrophic appeals to the 'blessed flames of the pyres' and the 'illustrious and venerable memory of Thomas Torquemada.' Mr. Joseph Hocking was told by a Jesuit priest in Ireland in 1897 that the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition were right and that the massacres in the Netherlands were according to the mind and spirit of Christ.

"Ugly incidents of boycott and mob-violence on the part of Catholics took place in Austria in 1899-1901. In 1901 an attempt was made to enforce the penal code against non-Catholics in Portugal. The same year the Jesuit Professor, Marianus De Luca, published a large work at Rome on Ecclesiastical Law, in which he maintained that the Church has the fullest right to punish at her discretion, even with death, baptized persons who defend heretical views with pertinacity or who, after accepting the Church's faith, abandon it. In 1902 the Jesuit Father Brors' pocket-handbook of apologetics declared that obstinate heretics deserve eternal punishment in hell and therefore also earthly death. In 1905 the resumed persecution of Spanish Protestants was stopped as illegal only in consequence of a widely representative protest. In 1906 the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Malta expressed to the Governor deep displeasure at King Edward VII's establishment of religious liberty in the island. In 1910 Pope Pius X remonstrated with the Spanish Government for allowing non-Catholic Churches somewhat greater publicity of worship than had previously been allowed to them. The same year the death-

penalty for heresy and the Church's right to resume the practice of inflicting it were defended at length by Lépiciér, a Catholic Professor at Rome. In 1912 a Catholic priest, preaching in Notre Dame, affirmed the Church's right to secure from Catholic States the suppression of heretics by penalties which may extend to death. In the volumes of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* published in 1908-1912, writer after writer defends the Church's intolerance and insists on her indefeasible right, as a perfect society, to coerce and punish."

"In a Lenten lecture at Notre Dame in 1927, Monsignor Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic University of Paris, is reported to have declared: 'When the Church has spent all her Christian patience, when all efforts of persuasion, all spiritual and material means have failed; when the culprit, having been deprived of his goods and separated from society, persists in his evil ways, pursues his heretical propaganda, and deliberately tries to endanger public order and the peace of Christian consciences, then the Church has no alternative, in order to protect herself and her people, and to force the heretic into accepting the true interpretation of the Church, than to pronounce against him the sentence of death' (*Australian Christian World*, December 7th, 1928, p. 17). The same year a Roman Catholic Canon told a gathering of Free Church ministers in the Midlands that, without prejudice to Christian love, his Church would have to persecute them (if in a position to do so) in order to protect the babes in the faith."

SOME PEOPLE GAIN THEIR ENDS IN THIS WORLD PARTLY THROUGH unprincipled disregard of the rights of others. So do some institutions. The history of certain religious bodies supplies instances. The same type of thinking which produced Christian Science moves it to employ disreputable means to suppress criticism of its teachings and methods and those of its founder. Freedom of the press as it is understood in America is not recognized by the leaders of the Christian Science organization, who do not hesitate to resort to the boycott, with its accompaniment of intimidation, when an important book of unfriendly character appears.

The most recent example of this kind is its attempt to prevent the sale of Edwin Franden Dakin's noteworthy book, *The Biography of a Virginal Mind*. This work has been com-

mended for its fine judicial character, yet its publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have felt obliged to appeal to the public in order to offset the systematic intimidation of local booksellers by Christian Science publication committees. Because of this pressure a large number of them have stopped selling Mr. Dakin's book. A clip sheet sent out by Scribners mentions many letters from book dealers reporting such cases, and, beginning with a comment by one of their own directors, thus describes the Christian Science *modus operandi*:

"We believe that much more is at stake than the life of this one book, which—however great the universal praise it has received from impartial critics everywhere—is less important than the right of authors and publishers to be untrammelled in their profession by the dictates of minority groups which have only a self-interest to serve."

"Letters being received by Scribners from bookdealers throughout the United States and Canada give vivid descriptions of the tactics being employed to discourage the sale of 'Mrs. Eddy.' Booksellers are approached by representatives who inform them how dangerous it is to 'insult' millions of believers in Mrs. Eddy's divinity of purpose. No mention is made of the fact that the last Census of Religious Bodies showed only 202,000 Christian Science church members in the United States, or that Mr. Dakin has presented figures indicating that there are probably not more than 250,000 professed Scientists in the entire world.

"If the bookdealer is unimpressed by these preliminary statements, he is informed that 'Mrs. Eddy' has been classed as an 'obnoxious' book, and that in the Manual of by-laws governing the Christian Science Church is a law forbidding a Scientist to deal with any publisher or firm who sells obnoxious books. This is the first threat of boycott. The visitor goes on to explain what a boycott must mean to any bookseller: his ultimate ruin. Mention is often made, in small towns, of prominent department stores or large bookdealers in adjacent cities who, it is declared, have returned 'all their copies' to the publishers and are no longer selling 'Mrs. Eddy.'

"These statements are usually fictitious, but they are phrased in such a way as to impress the small bookseller, struggling for business, with the seriousness of his offense against 'millions.' The visitor goes on to state that 'Mrs. Eddy' is a

libelous book based largely on discredited evidence, which its author calmly used without ever approaching the Directors of the Church for verification."

"It is no wonder under these circumstances that a number of dealers, fearful of their livelihood, have ceased to display 'Mrs. Eddy' on their counters. One dealer wrote that in addition to discontinuing the sale of the book, he had been forced to write letters of apology to two local 'agencies' for ever having offered the book for sale."

When Dr. Wyckoff's series of papers on Mrs. Eddy and Christian Science, published in this quarterly, were later issued in book form under the title, *The Non-Sense of Christian Science*, the activity of that organization prevented any adequate notice from being given by the daily papers. Even an undenominational weekly declined a favorable account of it for fear of offending the members of that cult among its readers. The freedom of the press has an empty sound when a very small but well organized minority can to a notable extent command silence on the part of public journals in a matter that has been of public interest for two generations. In an address delivered in New York, Mr. Dakin, author of the latest offending book, as reported by the *New York Herald-Tribune*, in these words described and commented on the institution of the Christian Science system of boycott by Mrs. Eddy:

"She passed a by-law creating at least one such representative in every state. Each publicity man, to whom she gave the imposing title of 'Publication Committee,' was instructed in her by-laws to correct all 'injustices done Mrs. Eddy' which appeared in print. She provided in her by-laws that the publicity men thus created should immediately call for aid from her committee on business, if any publisher refused to heed their pronouncements. In other words, she created the machinery by which reluctant editors and publishers could be coerced through their business offices. Many a recalcitrant editor has been brought into line when the Christian Science committee on business went after him. This large organization of publicity writers was created in perpetuity by the trust funds Mrs. Eddy bequeathed to her church."

"The issue has now become much larger than the question of the value of my own humble contribution to the list of cur-

rent books. The Christian Scientists have chosen to make the issue one of free speech. This issue goes to the foundation of our national credo and our free institutions. We are facing opponents who stop short of nothing to achieve their ends."

The methods employed by this organization amount to such a serious offense against freedom of the press that it is worth while to add another criticism, this one being from *The Saturday Review of Literature*:

"If an honest life of Mrs. Eddy is boycotted because a Christian Science committee does not approve of its interpretations, we have then a clear case of extra-legal means used to bring about a suppression which no principle of criticism can justify."

"Well, what next? If the Roman Catholics boycott all the books of Mr. Aldous Huxley and bring pressure to bear upon the shops that sell them; if the Methodists do the same with the novels of Mr. Hemingway; if the American Historical Association warns the booksellers to send back to the publishers the works of Herr Spengler; if the Quakers (who, like the Christian Scientists, are a power financially) serve notice upon the department stores that their trade goes elsewhere if books on military tactics are put upon the shelves—in short, if honest opinion can no longer be put into a book without arousing a powerful sect or group determined to put down a liberty which offends them, we are back again to the seventeenth century, and Milton's 'Areopagitica,' which Christian Scientists, who may not be aware of where their committee is leading them, are urged to read."

HAS POLITICAL ZIONISM, WITH ITS AIM OF A RESTORED JEWISH state in Palestine, suffered a final defeat? The Sixteenth Zionist Congress, held last August in Zurich, seems to have answered this question affirmatively. Zionism, founded a generation ago by Theodor Herzl, was at first more nearly a religious than a political movement; but it has been popularly regarded as chiefly political, as the effort of a race to set up its own national life in its ancient homeland.

Under the title, *Business Leaders Supplant National Idealists*, William Zukerman, London correspondent of the New York *Jewish Morning Journal*, has written in *Current History*

upon the progress of the Zionist Movement and the significance of its August conference. By permission we reproduce the paragraphs below from *Current History* for December, 1929, the contents of which are copyrighted by The New York Times Company. After showing that Zionism has derived its chief spiritual strength and financial support from the Jews of Russia, Mr. Zukerman tells us that conditions precipitated by the Great War have left the movement dependent for revenue upon a more prosperous and practical type of Jewish leader than could be found today in Eastern Europe, and gives in these quotations the results of this altered state of affairs:

"It is to the credit of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the president of the Zionist Organization, that he has found both and brought them into the movement. He has elaborated a scheme called the 'extended Jewish Agency,' under which the Agency provided for by the Mandate, and hitherto represented by the Zionist Organization, is extended to include non-Zionists on the ground that the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home is no longer the task of the Organization alone but of the entire Jewish people, non-Zionist and Zionist alike. Dr. Weizmann has made this idea a reality by gaining the interest of a group of Jews hitherto indifferent and even hostile to Zionism. One of this group was the late Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee, and others are Felix M. Warburg, president of the Joint Distribution Committee of America; Dr. Lee K. Frankel, first vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Judge Irving Lehman, brother of the Lieutenant Governor of New York; Sir Charles Waley Cohen, president of the Shell Oil Company; Lord Rothschild of London; Oskar Wasserman, president of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, and many other men of this type, leaders in finance and industry, practical men of affairs, from all over the world, but mostly from America. These men, in accordance with Dr. Weizmann's plan, have joined with the Zionist Organization in forming the extended Jewish Agency which consists of 214 members, only half of whom are Zionists, and which has now taken over from the Zionists their legal status, as well as the task of upbuilding the Jewish National Home in Palestine."

"The leaders who have joined the new Agency have, it is true, acknowledged the fundamental principle of Zionism as formulated in the so-called Basel program of Dr. Herzl,

namely, that Palestine is to be made a Jewish National Home. But the entire outlook on life of the new men is such that their Zionism is bound to be altogether different from the old East European brand. They are not Jewish nationalists; at best their interest in Palestine is philanthropic. They are mostly men of public spirit, and some of them unusually generous in their impulses. They are active in the field of Jewish philanthropy the world over. Since the end of the war they have collected and distributed over \$100,000,000 for Jewish relief in various countries in Europe, and they are willing to direct a fair share of this philanthropy toward Palestine colonization as they have to Russian colonization and other constructive Jewish relief. But the national aspirations and dreams of the old Zionists which produced the Jewish pioneer movement and the Hebrew renaissance are altogether foreign to them. They do not even understand the spiritual aspect of Zionism which constituted its main strength among Jews and made it the historic movement it is, but look upon Zionism as an adjunct to their joint Jewish relief work. To the older Zionist this means the elimination of the very soul and spiritual meaning of his movement."

THERE IS ABOUT SO MUCH WORK TO BE DONE IN THE WORLD, AND about so many disagreeable duties to perform. In following the easiest way we often deprive others of their proper comfort and even lay on them our share of the common tasks. Happy is the man who does not form the habit of avoiding burdens simply because the work will anyway be done somehow. In a volume of addresses for children, *At the Gate Called Beautiful*, by Rev. O. G. Whitfield, the author gives this fine illustration which needs no special application here:

"A good old friend of mine was fond of praying a very curious prayer. Whenever I heard him offer a prayer—and he very often did so at the prayer meetings of the church I went to as a boy—I always used to listen for it, and it nearly always came. 'Lord,' he would say, 'help us to re-cinder our paths.' What did he mean? I shall have to explain. In the little town where he lived the sidewalks were usually made of cinders brought from the furnaces of the salt factories, for it was a salt-making town. Very good hard paths they made, too, once they were well trodden down; but they soon got worn and

had to be renewed from time to time with fresh cinders. That is what my old friend was thinking about, and he was praying that God would help him to keep all the paths of his life, all the ways in which he walked, in good condition—paths of righteousness, and truth, and goodness. It was a very good prayer he so often prayed: 'Lord, help us to re-cinder our paths.' When the paths of our little town were re-cindered, the workmen simply spread the new cinders all over the worn surface of the old pathway, but they did not use any roller to roll them in. They just left them to be trodden in by the feet of the passers-by, and it was not at all pleasant walking on these loose cinders just after the paths had been repaired. I well remember walking with my old friend along a newly cindered path and saying to him, 'Let's walk in the road.' 'No, lad,' he replied in his rich Cheshire brogue, 'let's keep on t' path! Somebody else'll have to tread 'em if we don't.' "

IT OFTEN HAPPENS THAT SOME PHYSICAL AILMENT WILL DIS-appear, not by direct treatment, but by removing the cause. A good many difficulties in our overloaded lives might be cured simply by undertaking less. The mere dropping of some mental habits, with no conscious effort to replace them, would marvelously improve the soul comfort of some folks. Just as we generally possess many things we could well afford to lose, so we do many things we might wisely omit if we gave the time to doing better than ever those that are more important. Dr. Hugh Elmer Brown, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Evanston, Illinois, gave this counsel for the New Year in his church bulletin:

"Some Baggage to leave behind with 1929: Vain Regrets. Undue Sensitiveness to Slights, real or fancied. Spiritual Inertia. Drowsy Prayers. Excessive Radio Listening. Thoughtless Deference to Majority Opinions. Ossified Prejudices. Conversational Cynicism. Vociferous Nationalism. Overeating of Proteins, Starches, Sugars. Underexercise of Major Muscles. The Itch for Publicity. Chronic Exaggeration. Jerking, flea-like Dancing. 'Crooning' distortions of Melody. Morbid Moods. Unsubstantiated Statements about Prohibition, pro or con. The McFadden School of Literature. Cosy Creeds.

"We are overloaded. Each of us. We are weighed down

with so many useless things, crippling things, saddening things, devitalizing things. As we cross the border of the years, it is a good time to throw away 'impedimenta.' 'Fewer and Better' is a good slogan for 1930. Books, investments, engagements, committee meetings, organizations, churches, sermons, lectures, movies, golf-strokes—let Quality have a rap at Quantity all along the line, and see if Life doesn't seem less syncopated, more civilized."

FOR SOME REASON THE WORLD DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE REALIZED that a considerable portion of China is passing through one of the worst famines in history. The dead are now numbered by the million, and the ultimate toll of lives lost may even approach that of the battles of the Great War. Occasional references to the situation have appeared in the press; but no great concerted movement has as yet been organized to meet the emergency, though doubtless numerous individual gifts for relief have been made. Dr. John R. Mott is no sensationalist, which makes all the more impressive this statement he made toward the close of last year in a letter to C. V. Vickery, Executive Vice-president of the Golden Rule Foundation:

"The suffering of the children is particularly pitiable and presents an irresistible appeal. Literally millions of them, obviously caught in a situation they could not possibly have had anything to do with creating, are suffering and dying of hunger and the diseases that follow in the train of famine. I have discovered no need more extensive and intensive, and, I am sorry to add, less understood, than the present desperate need in China, associated with its terrible famine. It has already cost millions of lives. The latest advices make it certain that it will continue at least until the coming summer."

THE PUBLIC AND THE MODERN NEWSPAPER MUTUALLY INFLUENCE each other for worse rather than better. By pandering to the taste for the sensational and morbid that seems to be characteristic of human nature as a whole, the press so stimulates these traits that the demand for unwholesome reading matter grows. It is a kind of traffic in moral and mental narcotics; the supply increases the craving. It is confessedly dif-

difficult for a single journal to hold itself aloof from all this, but concerted action against the evil by a large proportion of our newspapers would be an important step in the right direction.

Much has been done in recent years to eliminate dishonest advertising, even though it paid, and the same attitude toward vicious "news" can be maintained if the publishers of our newspapers really decide for a higher standard. A writer in *The Spectator*, London, gives this diagnosis of the situation which, though applying more particularly to political affairs, fits quite well all matters where public feeling and imagination are concerned:

"The real problem of the Press to-day is not to secure freedom from governmental control—that has long been won; nor from the much-discussed but grossly exaggerated pressure of 'big business.' The real problem is how to secure freedom from the pressure of an emotional and excitable public opinion in times of excitement and prejudice; an excitability which it is far more profitable for a newspaper to pander to and exploit than to correct. The problem does not arise much in times of quiet and 'normalcy.' It arises when, in times of excitement, the public have real need of guidance and correction. And at such times the dice are loaded in the newspaper world against wisdom and in favour of folly."

PEOPLE WITH TRUE LOVE OF COUNTRY ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO any deliberate attack or misrepresentation directed against their own land or its people. One is hardly considered a patriot if he permits the offense to pass unrebuked. Yet American inventive genius has itself produced, in the "movies," a means of popular appeal that is spreading in foreign countries decidedly false and damaging impressions of American life. So vast has this industry become that it is capable of enormous influence, especially upon the minds of youth, and the mischief done by pictures which make the evil exception in American life seem the rule cannot be measured. It is an example of the serious misuse of a thing in itself capable of marvelous good. In a recent issue of *The Yale Review*, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, sometime representative in this country of the Manchester

Guardian, gives us this view of the way the movies present us to the people of foreign countries:

"Think of American civilization as it is portrayed upon the screen, not in uncertain dribblets but in a continued and overwhelming spate! It is surely appalling to reflect that literally nothing in the world today is so universally familiar to the vast multitude of our fellow-creatures as the pictures made of America by a small crowd of Americans and by them built up into one of the great international industries of the age. There it is: the crude imbecilities of the Wild West drama; the rawness of industrial production and business adventure, of cocktail parties, night clubs, the duel of sex, and the degradation of marriage; of bootleggers and hijackers, the high-powered car in robbery, revenge, double-crossings, and juvenile debauchery—mean and abominable people incessantly doing mean and abominable or farcical things, with a lawless and lunatic waste of money, and against a background of luxury and indulgence such as the peoples of the Old World have known about from this American revelation alone."

THE OVERWHELMING PROPORTIONS OF OUR CRIME PROBLEM MAY result in bringing about long needed changes for the better in our whole judicial system, even revolutionary changes. It is pretty certain that some things in present methods of trying and punishing offenders against the law are hopelessly behind our progress in most other things. They are plainly doing little to check the operations of a criminal class that is beginning to adopt the organization principles of large business corporations and that is even employing facilities that modern science supplies. Not only so, but the alliance between systematized crime and corrupt politics is becoming a major menace to American life.

Among the numerous articles on the crime problem is one lately contributed to *Harper's Magazine* by Joseph M. Proskauer, Associate Justice, Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, who writes with the thought of the criminal's individuality in view. These paragraphs point to one way that may improve the situation, provided the principles involved are not abused to the subversion of justice:

"Our real concern, however, is with the disposition we are to make of the criminal after he is convicted. To-day we send him to prison for a more or less fixed term. Even the so-called indeterminate sentence, with a maximum and a minimum, is rigid. If he is very young, he may go to a so-called reformatory. At times he is placed upon probation. But with certain exceptions, inconsequential in number and in degree, nothing is done to ascertain the causes of his transgression or to remove them. The result is appalling to anyone who has in his heart a love of our youth and a hope for their advancement. For the problem is largely one of youth."

"It is not too much to ask, at least with respect to youthful offenders, and particularly with respect to youthful first offenders, that the administration of justice should begin to work hand in hand with the psychiatrist for the reclamation of valuable human material. The future of such offenders should not be forecast by the determinate sentence of a judge necessarily endowed with human fallibility. Hindsight is ever better than foresight, and we should use hindsight in shaping the lives of such offenders. Upon conviction they should, of course, be placed under restraint for the protection of society. The duration and character of that restraint must be determined by the careful observation of penologists and psychiatrists, subject, of course, to such review as will prevent abuse. We must change the condition which sends a boy to prison or reformatory only to come out with every criminal propensity accentuated by a period of confinement under the most anti-social conditions. Such an offender should be handed over to a board authorized to confine him, to study his peculiarities, mental, physical, social, and moral, to cure him if he can be cured, to retain him in custody so long as he is a menace to society, and to release him to freedom when serious risk to society from his conduct has disappeared."

ENLIGHTENMENT AND PROGRESS ARE TO BE WELCOMED. AT THE same time, if they come without proper religious restraints and guidance, the resulting civilization may become a menace to the peace and proper development of society at large. Turkey, once looked upon by Westerners as so backward, is now one of the world's wonders because of the progress in certain directions she has made in even seven years. This should arouse the church to the greatest efforts to give the Turks the Gospel.

Things accomplished in that country in the period mentioned are given in this summary by Dr. Lee Vrooman in *The International Review of Missions*:

"The abolition of the sultanate and the declaration of a republic.

"The abolition of the caliphate and disestablishment of the Moslem Church.

"The abolition of mosque religious schools and a great increase of secular schools.

"The dissolution of dervish orders and seizure of their property.

"The nationalization of religious endowments.

"The abolition of the fez and adoption of hats.

"The dropping of the Hegira calendar and institution of the Gregorian calendar.

"The replacing of the old Arabic numerals by European numerals.

"The drawing up of three codes in place of Moslem Sheriat law, based respectively on the Swiss civil code, the German commercial code and the Italian penal code.

"The abolition by law of polygamy.

"The entire reconstruction of the school system, co-education being introduced.

"The promotion of sports, such as football.

"The teaching of Western music in place of the old Eastern music.

"The fostering of agriculture; the undertaking by the state of a great program of railway building; the creation of a state-subsidized merchant marine; the building of new factories with government aid.

"The dropping from the constitution of the statement that Islam is the religion of Turkey.

"The substitution of Latin letters for the old Arabic alphabet.

"The introduction of compulsory adult education to abolish illiteracy."

BOOKS

OUTFITTING THE TEACHER OF RELIGION ¹

DR. SNOWDEN has added to his long list of books on religious subjects a textbook on the principles and practice of religious education. It is really a series of interesting and stimulative talks or essays on the theory and practice of teaching religion. It will be read with profit, not only by Sunday School teachers, but also by all who are interested in the great problem of instructing the young.

Dr. Snowden has no doubt that religion can be taught, and that disastrous consequences will follow if it is not. He quotes in support of his contention the example of John Stuart Mill, who endeavored to bring up his son in entire isolation from religious influence, with the result that the young man fell into the deepest despondency. Another illustration is furnished by Philip Gibbs in his novel, *The Age of Reason*, in which he makes the son of an atheistic biologist say rather bitterly: "Between ourselves, I don't think the governor's philosophy of life is altogether sound. The Age of Reason and all that—it's bunk, really. . . . Personally I wish the governor had brought us up with some kind of religion. Any decent superstition rather than blank unbelief.'" (P. 5.)

The possibility of religious education depends ultimately on the fact that as human beings we have "a religious nature or capacity to appreciate and receive religious truth and life." This religious nature in the child is both an opportunity and a challenge to the teacher. The intellectual element can be taught in the same way as that of any other subject, and for this sound method is necessary. Regarding this fact the author has definite views:

"Religious teaching is still teaching and must follow the principles and processes of sound instruction. It is not a

¹*Outfitting the Teacher of Religion.* By James H. Snowden. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii+274. Index.

peculiar art that anybody can practice without any knowledge or skill in it. The weakness of much of our religious teaching, especially in the Sunday school, has been that in the lack of competent teachers any ill-prepared and possibly empty-minded and frivolous young persons were set to teaching classes, perhaps to their injury and even irreparable harm. Such persons, instead of winning pupils to religion and imparting it to them, may drive them away from it." (P. 10.)

Religious education is, however, something more than the imparting of knowledge. Religion is conscious relation to God, and the special business of the parent, who is the first teacher of religion, and of the worker in the school is to help the child to pass into "full and fine, free and joyous relations to God." Success in this will depend largely on personality, for "Religion is more a feeling of the heart and a spirit of the life than a creed of the mind, and therefore it can be imparted more by the subtle influence of a religious soul than by a logical demonstration, by contagion than by teaching" (p. 7). The true teacher of religion must therefore seek to influence his scholars and interest and win them. Even knowledge of the Bible is not to be regarded as the goal of achievement. "The Bible is plainly only a means to an end and this end is to convert souls and build them up in Christian character and life" (p. 98). In plain words, there is primary need that the scholar should be converted, as both the Bible and human experience testify, and the true teacher must be a soul winner:

"The Sunday-school teacher should keep this end in view and endeavor to bring his pupils to this decision and surrender of the heart and life to God in Christ. . . . The approach to the soul on this delicate matter calls for wariness and tact, and must not brusquely and rudely intrude on the inmost privacy and secrecy of the soul. Yet it should be done, and the pupils should know and feel from the whole attitude of the teacher and atmosphere of the class that this end is in view and is constantly appealing to their conscience and loyalty to Christ." (P. 99.)

Dr. Snowden's general contention is that the Sunday School teacher should furnish himself with all the knowledge

which modern psychology and teaching method can give him, and he endeavors to outline the help thus available. In psychology he is a follower of James and the association school, and it is doubtful if any school gives more practical assistance to the teacher than this. For Behaviorism he has no use, and disposes of it in a summary manner:

"Behaviorism, the latest fashion or fad in psychology, declares that all we know of the human being is its bodily behavior or 'reactions,' and therefore it denies that we know any soul or have any use for one. In its extreme form it denies that there is any such thing as consciousness and thereby uses consciousness to kill consciousness, literally committing suicide and then keeping on talking." (P. 53.)

Psychology of this type he describes as absurdity, "and it can be left to die of its own self-asphyxiation." Of far greater use to the teacher is the older theory, which lays emphasis on apperception and association of ideas. "Multiply your associations, store your mind with facts and ideas through observation and reading, and you will thus have a reservoir in your mind which you can tap on any subject at any time and draw forth streams of thought and power" (p. 59). Equally important is the use of imagination, which enters deeply into the process of education both on the part of the teacher and of the pupil. Finally attention must be given to the feelings and will.

The supreme textbook for the religious educator is the Bible. Christianity has often been described as the "religion of a book." The charge is largely true, although it would be more correct to say that it is the religion of a person, our Lord Jesus Christ. And what a supreme book the Bible is! It is an education to know it and a privilege to teach it. We go to the Bible not only for the materials of our teaching, but also for guidance and illustration in the work itself. It is supremely a book of experience, enabling us to "live over the lives and experiences of the prophets and apostles," and thereby fashioning us into their likeness.

Dr. Snowden is not in favor of bringing controversy into the Sunday School class. "Average teachers are not prepared

to handle such problems, and ill-informed and misinformed discussion of them may easily do more harm than good, stir up more doubts than it can settle" (p. 117). Nevertheless the critical study of the Bible is not altogether to be neglected, especially in the higher grades and in Bible classes. Scholars should know, for example, "that the authorship assigned in the titles of most of the books of the Bible . . . is no part of the original manuscript, and has no authority other than that of ancient tradition." Nor is there any reason why scholars should not be told that the Gospel of Mark was written before Matthew and Luke, and that some of Paul's letters were the earliest books written in the New Testament. Constructive critical scholarship has thrown light on the meaning and purpose of the books of the Bible, and therefore it has its place in the program of Bible teaching.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that which deals with Jesus as a teacher of religion. In the first place our Lord was qualified to teach His subject. "His textbook in the common school of the synagogue was the Old Testament, and he had marked and meditated upon it, so that he was familiar with its teaching, and had absorbed its spirit and had it at the tip of his tongue when he wanted to use it." In addition He had within Him a fountain of living knowledge. The general method of His teaching was to adapt it to the condition and needs of His hearers. He chose His illustrations from everyday life, and the modern teacher would do well to follow His example in this instead of seeking for bookish examples which all too frequently have to be dragged in. Still further He was an expert questioner, and used His skill against those who sought debate with Him. For those troubled with doubt and sin He had the utmost patience. He was moreover always aiming at practical applications and results. Finally, He never overlooked the supreme aim of saving souls. In all these departments of teaching He is at once our example and our inspiration.

Dr. Snowden's book contains many suggestions and hints

of practical value for the Sunday School teacher, for whom it is specially designed. It will fill a useful place in the literature written for those engaged in young people's work. One of its greatest merits is that it emphasizes certain old-fashioned objectives in Sunday School work, which many modern textbooks on religious education are apt to disregard.

ANDREW R. OSBORN.

THE CHRISTIAN GOD ²

THE CHRISTIAN GOD, by Dr. Richard Roberts, is a small volume containing the Merrick Lectures given at Ohio Wesleyan University in December, 1928. The book is an attempt to satisfy the historical, scientific, and philosophic thought of today with a discussion of the essential tenets of an enlightened Christian theism. Dr. Roberts is evidently a firm believer in the God of revelation and in the Deity of Jesus Christ. It is his purpose to state these central realities of the Christian faith to modern-minded people in the new categories and terms which have acquired so much vogue. Evolution is accepted as a probable explanation of how we have come to our present state of existence; Lloyd Morgan and Professor Whitehead are examples of creative thinkers to whom he appeals; sociology and the new psychology furnish background for his argument. In short, he is endeavoring to make Christianity rational:

"But we have passed into a new day. The revolution of thought which has been wrought by modern science compels us to modify old and to discover new thought-forms. . . . The Nicene Fathers knew nothing of organic evolution, emergents, events, potentials and the rest of our amazing modern vocabulary." (P. 85 f.)

Dr. Roberts recognizes the momentous struggle which Christianity is facing today with Humanism. He believes that the issue is to be joined in as fierce and critical a conflict as

² *The Christian God*. By Richard Roberts. The Merrick Lectures for 1928. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. 154.

raged in any of the historic controversies of the early church. "The problem today is to save men from the bankruptcy which must follow the notion that there is no God but that which they may find in themselves" (p. 86). In so far as *The Christian God* is an effort to meet Humanism on its own ground and to the degree that it seeks to justify the Christian claim from an angle that can be appreciated by men who must start with certain scientific or philosophical presuppositions, the book accomplishes its purpose. It belongs in the high class of attempts to make this approach. It is also delightful reading; it is refreshing in its style; it is original and suggestive; and it is candid and sincere.

It is to be asked, however, whether the author, in his desire to mediate the essence of Christianity to the modern mind, has succeeded in doing so without modifying that essence. While there may be a necessity for new containers for religious thought suitable for current use—Jesus, Himself, and the Apostle Paul, giving examples of this literary method—yet it is a fair question, whether Dr. Roberts has here always correctly expressed the central truths of Christianity.

The first chapter is a strong apologetic for prayer and revelation. The aim is "to show that there are grounds for believing that prayer and revelation are not out of analogy with processes which seem to be general in nature, and that therefore prayer and revelation and the relation between them may be regarded as sufficiently established to be regarded as a basis for action" (p. 32). In support of the argument the "ingression of x ," "the event," and the consequent "revelation," which are familiar terms in the philosophy of Professor A. N. Whitehead, are cited. The chapter closes with a sample of sound epistemology:

"There are still limitations upon our minds that prevent us from a complete analysis and statement of our aesthetic experiences; but that is not urged as a demonstration of the illusory character of such experiences or of their objects. Why then should it be intellectual sin to trust our religious experiences?" (P. 32 f.)

In this chapter is found also this well aimed thrust at mechanistic psychology:

"Prayer is a kind of behaviour; and we have those among us today who bid us believe that all behaviour is a response to an external stimulus. It is undoubtedly true that a good deal of human behaviour is to be explained in that way. But I find it excessive to deny the possibility of deliberate and purposive behaviour on the part of the organism, especially when the organism is the human person. In view of our present quite final inability to know everything that goes on within an organism, it is surely an unscientific mind that affirms that all behaviour is a response to a stimulus from without." (P. 25.)

Early in the chapter on The Christian Event Dr. Roberts puts and answers a question that bothers many people in our forward-looking age:

"Jesus lived and died in a world wholly unlike ours. . . . Jesus' world was a world without science, without newspapers, without automobiles. How then can He have any significance for a world like this that we live in? This is a world of process, even if not of progress. Everything is on the move; how can a faith that springs from a nineteen-century-old event escape being outmoded and impertinent at this time of day?" (P. 36.)

An interesting and helpful reply is given to this frequently voiced objection on pages 36 and 37; but assent is not so readily given to the author's implications in later portions of this chapter: "We are familiar with the pictures that various biographers have drawn of the childhood and youth of Jesus; and these may or may not correspond to the facts of the case." "The story of the Voice, and the Dove is a dramatisation of some experience that brought Him clear confirmation of His call." "The Temptation has been variously interpreted, but its significance would appear to be that it was a sifting of methods. The story is a graphic and dramatic summary of what must have been a long process of heart-searching during the early stages of His ministry."

These departures from established interpretations of Gospel accounts are typical of certain present-day attitudes, but

their validity remains to be proven. Should these and other similar outposts of soundly Biblical faith be surrendered, the way would be open to attack on the main front. Similarly, the treatment of *The Crisis in Jerusalem*, and *The Cross* do not describe adequately the spiritual experience of the Master in the garden and on the cross. The soul exceeding sorrowful even unto death to which allusion is made (p. 56) was disturbed by a deeper emotion than that of the disappointment of a rejected prophet. Nor is Dr. Roberts wholly convincing in his explanation of the cry of dereliction to those whose view of the Atonement is in closer correspondence with the traditional belief of the church (p. 59).

There is much stimulating and helpful material in the chapter on God in Christ. Interest focuses particularly on the discussion of *The Emergent Jesus* (p. 76). The theories of Professor Alexander, Lloyd Morgan, and others are discussed, and the doctrine of the Deity of Christ is skilfully articulated to the naturalistic interpretations of emergent evolution without falling into some of the mistakes which he thinks Lloyd Morgan has made. He criticizes what seems to him a false immanentism of God in the statement:

"The truth is that immanentism is never enough to cover the facts of life. God is in the process. We cannot think of the divine immanence as an inert latency; it is active, and evolution is a mode of its activity. But God must be other than the process. When Professor Whitehead speaks of God as 'a principle of concretion,' he implies that God does in some fashion transcend the process; for He would appear on occasions to lay hold of the process or of some part of it and to bring forth out of it new 'events.' This same transcendence seems to be implied also in Whitehead's doctrine of the 'ingression of eternal objects into particular occasions.'" (P. 82 f.)

In the chapter on *The Image of God* there is a very thought-provoking discussion of *The Father* (p. 96). One may not agree with all the positions taken here, but he will follow with interest and mixed approval the list of historic and contemporaneous distortions of the idea of God. The author

names the tribal distortion, the distortion of size, and the political and static distortions. Even the image of the Father he believes to be incomplete and quotes Jesus as authority for the statement:

"Fatherhood is an image which suggests origination and affection, providence and protection. But it is notorious that it does not cover the whole ground of the human need and experience of God." (P. 100.)

Jesus' revelation of God carries more than the fatherly relation. God is the Judge and King as well as Father. If the author had kept this emphasis of Jesus in mind in his discussion of the Atonement, he might have drawn a picture in closer harmony with the meaning of Christ's death as unfolded both by the Lord and His great Apostle. However, he makes a fine personal confession in closing this chapter, to the effect that none of the favorite images under which God is conceived bring such satisfaction to heart and mind as that of Jesus Himself (p. 102). He acknowledges that to think of God in terms of Christ is anthropomorphic, but he will yield no ground on that account:

"Our thinking is inevitably shot through and through with anthropomorphism. And if I believe that there is a God, why should I be charged with intellectual sin when I conceive Him in terms of the highest—and indeed the only—category of life that I have any immediate knowledge of, that of personality? It does not at all follow that I suppose that the human image under which I conceive God comprehends the whole truth of God. I know that at best it is only an approximation to the truth: but it is the best that I, being what I am, can do." (P. 102.)

It may be pertinent to compare this last statement with the expression, "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Jesus Christ is the very image of the invisible God and may, despite our opinion in the matter, contain "the whole truth of God"; but our faculties may not be equal to the task of comprehending the totality of this truth. It is a stimulating thought that there may be—nay, must be—in the Light of the

World radiations of His glory, like ultra-violet rays, which do not register upon our limited retinas, but which it is our exhilarating privilege to try by spiritual modes to discover, as it is our joy to extend the borders of our knowledge in the physical world.

Dr. Roberts' theory of the Atonement may be surmised from the following excerpts:

"The answer of God to sin is forgiveness." "But we have not even yet grown accustomed to it." "There is something in us which seems to require us to think of God as being severe and iron-handed." "We ascribe to God a justice which is of a piece with our public justice." "For centuries Christian theology has befuddled itself by ascribing to God both the justice of retaliation and the justice of reconciliation." "Hence came those doctrines of satisfaction, propitiation, ransom, substitution and the like, which have no possible justification in fact. The air that God breathes is not that of a law court but that of a home; and quasi-legal transactions are no more pertinent to the relations of God to His creatures than they are to the relations of father and child. It is surely time that these transactional theories of the Atonement should be put on the scrap-heap." (P. 134 ff.)

After citing these statements it is unnecessary to explain in detail the author's argument for a free and spontaneous forgiveness having nothing to do with Jesus "satisfaction," as understood by Paul, Augustine, Anselm, Luther, and the great body of Christian believers. Dr. Roberts' conception of forgiveness is not uncommon today, and need not be elaborated or refuted. It is sufficient to say that no argument which appeals for illustration to officials and instruments of human justice can be accepted in dealing with a situation which is entirely unique. There are no earthly parallels to the principals in the great transaction of the cross: God, Christ, and man. As Professor Carnegie Simpson has said, there are and there can be no "illustrations" of the Atonement. In Dr. Roberts' argument God is assumed to play the role of father; but in Jesus' and Paul's portrayals He is also revealed as the Eternal Judge in whom the whole moral order of the universe consists. "Shall

not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The soteriology of the past has won too many souls for Christ to be discarded lightly at this late date. The traditional doctrine of the cross, drawn so directly as it is from the Gospels and the Epistles, has shown both a "survival value" and a revival value, and it will endure as the only adequate solution of the great problem of forgiveness.

FREDERICK W. LEWIS.

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH³

IF ONE were to try to describe this book in a single sentence it might be in some such phrases as these: In aim and objective it is an important book, in spirit a delightful book, and in method and detail a disconcerting book.

Canon Streeter needs no introduction to the world of thoughtful students. As one reviewer says: "To an increasing number of people a new book by Canon Streeter is an important event. He joins accurate technical knowledge with historical imagination; therefore we expect new light on ancient problems." The present volume results from the publication of the first series of lectures given on a new foundation established by the will of the late Professor W. T. Hewett in connection with the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Union Theological Seminary, New York. These lectures were delivered, by courtesy of President Lowell, in Emerson Hall, Harvard.

This is an *important* book because of its objective. A few sentences from the Introduction and the Epilogue will make this clear:

"For four hundred years theologians of rival churches have armed themselves to battle on the question of the Primitive Church. . . . The Episcopalian has sought to find episcopacy, the Presbyterian presbyterianism, and the Independent

³ *The Primitive Church*: Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry. Lectures delivered on the Hewett Foundation. By Burnett Hillman Streeter, Reader in Christian Origins in the University of Oxford; Canon of Hereford; Hon. D.D. Edin.; Hon. D.D. Durham. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xiv+323. Index.

a system of independency, to be the form of church government in New Testament times. But while each party to the dispute has been able to make out a case for his own view, he has never succeeded in demolishing the case of his opponent. The explanation of this deadlock, I have come to believe, is quite simple. It is the uncriticised assumption, made by all parties to the controversy, that in the first century there existed a single type of Church Order." (P. viii.)

"Our survey of the evidence is ended. Much of it is unambiguous; much admits of more than one interpretation. . . . But whatever else is disputable, there is, I submit, one result from which there is no escape. In the Primitive Church there was no single system of Church Order laid down by the Apostles. During the first hundred years of Christianity, the Church was an organism alive and growing—changing its organisation to meet changing needs. . . . Uniformity was a later development; and for those times it was, perhaps, a necessary development. . . . Perhaps the greatest obstacle [to reunion today] is the belief—entertained more or less explicitly by most bodies of Christians—that there is some one form of Church Order which alone is primitive; and which, therefore, alone possesses the sanction of Apostolic precedent. Our review of the historical evidence has shown this belief to be an illusion. In the Primitive Church no one system of Church Order prevailed. Everywhere there was readiness to experiment, and, where circumstances seemed to demand it, to change." (P. 267 f.)

This is also a *delightful* book because of its spirit. Witness the opening paragraph of the Introduction:

"When I first began to read Theology more than thirty years ago, I found Church History so dull—especially after reading Greek and Roman history for 'Greats'—that I dropped the subject, and offered for examination Textual Criticism instead. I discovered later what the matter was; it was not that 'Church' history was dull, but that what was then presented to me as such was not really history. Whether the present volume is dull, or even history, it will be for others to pronounce. I only know that I have enjoyed the writing of it." (P. vii.)

In this book a fascinating enthusiasm pervades even the most scholarly discussion, and the sincerity of the learned Canon's almost naïve statement, "I have enjoyed the writing

of it," is evidenced on every page. This enjoyment is contagious.

And yet this delightful and important book will be to many readers also a *disconcerting* book.

First of all, because one is overwhelmed by its elaborate erudition. It guides us through a veritable labyrinth of research. The average mind staggers before such a maze of details. As the Editorial Committee of the Religious Book Club, in making its recommendation, says: "The Editorial Committee desires to make it clear that this book is not written from the standpoint of general popularity, and does not yield its treasures to casual skimming; it is rather a volume of most careful scholarship, the kind which will long be referred to as an authoritative work."

The method followed is to trace "the evolution of Church Order," first in the New Testament, and then in those documents which represent the trends of thought and life in the churches of Asia, Syria, Rome, and Alexandria. Finally there is a series of appendices which discuss Pionius' *Life of Polycarp*, The Letters of Ignatius and Polycarp, Origin and Date of the *Didache*, and Iranaeus and the Early Popes.

Each of these subjects lends itself to the massing of minute details, and the finished product, as is said in the quotation just made, "does not yield its treasures to casual skimming."

But to some readers this will prove a disconcerting book for another reason. It is replete with what Huxley called "scientific guesses." Indeed, Canon Streeter himself uses this phrase, and invites us to recognize that at least some of his "conclusions" are "no more than" that. (See p. 267.) This was, of course, inevitable because of the very nature of the investigations which are instituted. "Conjectures" and "tentative assumptions" and "precarious hypotheses" are bound to have a prominent place in such a book.

However, when this method of deducing "conclusions" from "conjectures" is freely applied to questions of authorship and

date of the books of the New Testament, it will fail to commend itself to many a reader. Our author does not believe that the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel, or the Epistles commonly ascribed to him, or the Apocalypse. He holds that, although authentically Pauline in their constituent parts, "the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, in the form in which we have them, are the result of a process of editing." With genuine regret—"frankly, I confess to the pang it cost me"—he has surrendered his belief in the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter.

A review is no place in which to enter upon an examination of such problems, and yet, inasmuch as no less than twenty pages of the book are given to a discussion of the authorship, and incidentally the date, of 1 Peter, perhaps a few sentences of comment on this particular point may not be amiss. The foundation for Canon Streeter's contention is, to use his own words, first of all laid in "a suggestion put out by Harnack many years ago," and then the superstructure is developed from "a recent conjecture of Perdelwitz (a writer to whose works I have not had direct access)." (See p. 128 f.)

To some this may seem rather an insufficient point of departure even for a "scientific guess," especially since this suggestion of Harnack's dates back more than thirty years, and has been repeatedly analyzed and answered by competent scholars. For instance, among the noteworthy discussions of its validity are Principal Chase's masterly article on 1 Peter, in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* and the introductory material in Professor Bigg's volume in the *International Critical Commentary*. Under the circumstances it would seem as though the interests of impartial and exact scholarship would have been advanced if our author had reviewed, either in the body of his book or in an appendix, the arguments of those who oppose Harnack's conjecture as well as the arguments which seem to him to support it.

At any rate, to the multitude of earnest students who still cling to the belief that the Apostle Peter is indeed the author, it will be re-assuring to know that Canon Streeter himself is

by no means sure of his position and that the main thesis of his book, which after all, is its real contribution to Christian thought, is not invalidated by disagreement with him on this point. He himself says:

"The hypothesis I am about to put forward is one which would explain the facts, and that in a way which is, to my mind, less unsatisfactory than any other I have come across; but I should be the last to maintain that it is the only hypothesis which will explain them; or that it is one which admits of verification of a convincing character. . . . Whoever was its author or whatever be its date, we have in 1 Peter evidence of a stage in the evolution of the importance of the regular ministry, considerably in advance of anything in the epistles of Paul." (Pp. 128, 139.)

And so, we once more express our great appreciation of this important and delightful book, and rejoice in its contribution to the realization of unity within the church of Christ. As another reviewer has said, "Dr. Streeter's book deserves full consideration by all who pray for the coming of the Kingdom of the Lord in its fulness." The inescapable significance of the book would seem to be summarized in its closing sentence, "It may be that the line of advance for the Church of to-day is not to imitate the forms, but to recapture the spirit, of the Primitive Church."

JAMES COFFIN STOUT.

RELIGION ⁴

DR. AMES, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago, is so well known by his other writings on religion that the reader turns with interest to this new book bearing the simple title, *Religion*. The particular interpretation of religion which it presents is well stated by the folder:

"An acknowledged leader of the humanist wing, himself a teaching philosopher and a practicing preacher, sums up the case for religion as a social product. To the view that religion

⁴ *Religion*. By Edward Scribner Ames, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1929. Pp. viii+324. Index.

is supernaturally revealed, he opposes the view that religion grows from the communal life of men. Against the tradition that God made men in his own image, he posits the theory that men create their God after the pattern of their own highest ideals."

It is to John Stuart Mill that Professor Ames traces back the origin of his theory of religion:

"In John Stuart Mill, philosophical empiricism reached its limit of negation concerning the traditional theological conception of God as a being whose existence could be logically and conclusively proved; but in Mill there was also the beginning of an entirely different conception of religion. He began to see religion as a social process arising from human desires and emotions directed toward ideal ends." (P. 26.)

The failure of this conception of religion to make any marked progress in Mill's time was due to the fact that it did not have any sound intellectual backing. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the logic of empiricism, the historical method, the study of the social nature of man, the conception of evolution, and the functional or behavioristic psychology, have combined under the method of the physical sciences to give new meaning and support to this theory of religion. According to the author, this has become the most satisfactory explanation of the nature of religion.

When thinking of Professor Ames as a Humanist the reader must carefully distinguish between the different types of Humanists: The psychologists, like Professor James A. Leuba, who seek to bring religion under the domain of psychology alone; the ethicalists, like Adler and Lippmann, who seek to reduce religion to the level of ethics; and the religionists, like Ames and Holmes, whose interest is primarily in religion. These groups fundamentally are far apart and should not be classed together. The first two are philosophically and psychologically separated from the religious group more radically than this group of Humanists is from the Theists. For Professor Ames is interested in religion, Christianity, and the church. He has been for over twenty-five years the minis-

ter of the University Church of the Disciples of Christ, and he is also Dean of the Disciples Divinity House. His scientific sallies are executed for the purpose of capturing enough scientific information to make religion intellectually acceptable to the modern university-molded mind. The theory of religion which explains it as a social product relieves the mind of the embarrassing entanglements which theology and philosophy create, and fits congenially into the new field of the popular social sciences.

That religion is always found functioning in a social environment and dealing with social values cannot be denied. So this obvious fact is made its fundamental nature, and the search for its origin in deeper psychological experience is ended. In the same way the problem of science and religion disappears, for the very method of approach leaves science supreme. Upon this point Professor Ames remarks:

"It would be truer to regard science as the method of all possible knowledge, and religion as one of the subjects to which it may be applied. Then the correct observation would be that knowledge of religion is comparable to knowledge of other social interests, such as politics or economics." (P. 74.)

It is somewhat disconcerting to find a philosopher capitulating so abjectly to science as the guardian of "all possible knowledge," especially when he is attempting to make religion over to fit Professor Dewey's philosophy. For those familiar with Professor Dewey's point of view can never forget that famous ninth chapter on Experience, Nature and Art, in his book, *Experience and Nature*, where science receives scant consideration, and art is placed upon the throne as ruler in the realm of epistemology. But it is not philosophy, but a scientific method, that is here in the mind of the author. So also in the conflict between ethics and religion, the social theory of religion makes religion the product of moral character. This theory was thoroughly discussed in our review of Professor Baillie's book, *The Interpretation of Religion*. One quotation will give the reader some idea of its trend:

"The importance of religious personages, like Moses or Christ, lies not in their unique metaphysical nature, but solely in their exemplification of obedience to conscience and duty" (p. 86).

Having cleared the field for action, we are ready to deal with the specifically religious problems. In the chapter on The Gods of Religion, he takes up the question of the nature of God. His conclusion is:

"God is thus shown to be the Spirit of a people, and in so far as there is a world of humanity, God is the Spirit of the world" (p. 132).

This being the nature of God, His existence is easily established. So we read:

"Such a conception of the nature of God involves no longer the old difficulty concerning his existence. His reality is as demonstrable as the world itself, indeed it is given in the living experience of all socially minded people. . . . This may be seen in such realities as Alma Mater and Uncle Sam. Alma Mater is not a myth or mere idea. It is the reality of an organization of things and people." (P. 133.)

From this point we can hasten on to the nature of prayer. One cannot understand the author's scientific explanation of the psychology of prayer without a clear idea of the relation between self and God. God is the "Other" with whom the self is in constant communication, in whom the self lives and has its being. That "Other" may be one of the many selves that dwell in the community of selves within each personality. As when one talks to oneself. He may be another person, or the spirit of a group, organization, city, nation, or the spirit of humanity or the universe. At this point we will give way to the author:

"This Other is of the same nature as all the lesser 'others,' constituted of social groups of varying scope and function. It is not a figment or an illusion any more than the state or the family is an illusion. It has the substance of the actual world of things and people, of history and projected action. Philosophy calls it the Universal or the Absolute; science designates it as Nature or Life; religion names it God." (P. 145.)

This conception of the "Other" is so fundamental for all that follows that we will give one further statement:

"The 'other' may be another human being, or a set of human beings held together as a family or a city or a nation, or it may be Humanity or the Universe. . . . We love God as surely and as intelligently as we love our country or our Alma Mater, but with deeper and more consummate affection." (P. 145.)

Prayer arises out of the human habit of using language and conversing. In this Pantheon of "Others" any one of these "Others" may become the object of prayer. It may be reduced to talking to oneself:

"Prayer, in its basic character, is this kind of conversation with another, but the 'other' may be one of these idealized selves" (p. 209).

Of course, the elevating effect of sincere prayer is proportionate to the moral dignity and worth of the "Other" to whom the prayer is made. This is also true of worship, and all of the phenomena of religious experience.

In the preliminary chapters, I-VII, the author finds his social theory of religion working satisfactorily; but the moment he enters the distinctly religious realm, where he faces such problems as God and The Self, God as Idealized Reality, God and Personality, Mysticism's Quest for God, Prayer, Death and The Future, and Creative Religious Behavior, etc., he draws heavily upon the psychological resources of idealistic philosophy and Theism. This book furnishes another striking illustration of the fact that, when the full sweep and scope of religious experience demands room to function, it cannot be confined within the limits of Humanism. The theory is not big enough to hold the experience.

In conclusion we will jot down a few observations. The psychologist finds more difficulty than the philosopher in identifying the love-behavior of the alumnus of a college for his Alma Mater and the American patriot for Uncle Sam with the devoutly religious Christian's love-behavior for his God. The differences stand out more than the similarities. Again,

the psychologist refuses to admit that "the method of all possible knowledge" is that employed by the physical sciences. He also objects to the committing of psychology to the idea that personality is a "community of selves." And, lastly, he insists that in the fields of anthropology, social psychology, and psychology it is still an open question as to whether religion is a social product, or the creator of social products. Until these assumptions have become established facts the social theory of religion can claim for itself no scientific standing. And with the recent research in the field of the nature of religious experience to guide, it is growing less and less scientific as theory.

ALBERT CLARKE WYCKOFF.

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA ⁵

THIS BOOK, true to its title, is not a story book; it is *A History of Christian Missions in China*. It contains 843 pages of historical facts, with 50 pages of bibliography to support them. The average reader will not find it easy reading, and will be tempted to lay the book down.

The necessary magnitude of the volume becomes evident from the Contents. A large part of the book is given over to the record of the missionary efforts of the Roman Catholic Church, together with a brief account of the work of the Russian Orthodox Church. Measured by chronology, the allotment of space is not unfair, inasmuch as there is historical data to show that the Nestorians entered China during the T'ang dynasty, 618-907 A.D., while the first Protestant missionary did not reach the field until 1807. Measured, however, by the weight of influence on Chinese life, one feels that too much space is given to this Catholic work. Still, the author performs invaluable service in acquainting the Protestant mind with the work of Catholic missions, a knowledge of which should challenge us to more earnest endeavor.

⁵ *A History of Christian Missions in China*. By Kenneth Scott Latourette, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xiv+930. Index. Bibliography. Map.

In his Introduction Latourette sets forth certain questions to awaken interest: How does it happen that the Roman Catholic, the Russian Orthodox, and the Protestant churches are represented in China? Why has the Protestant missionary force been so much larger than the Roman Catholic forces, while yet the Roman Catholic Chinese are so much more numerous than Protestant Chinese? Why have missionaries often undertaken such extensive educational and medical work? What effect has the missionary activity had upon China? To what extent has China become Christian? How far, if at all, has Christianity influenced political, social, religious, and intellectual movements and institutions? To answer these questions, it is obvious one must study the missionary enterprise, "both in Occidental and Chinese setting" and "be familiar with the general outlines of the religious history of Europe and America." Here, then, is the method. The missionary invasion is to be examined by periods, in the light of economic, social, political, and religious conditions existing in the West and in China.

To understand the results which followed on the impact of Christian truth on the minds of the Chinese one must understand the religious background of the Chinese. A survey of the situation reveals the fact that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, together with indigenous animism, have helped to shape the religious mind of the Chinese. "In practice the Chinese is eclectic, and without any sense of inconsistency is an animist, Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist." Any religion coming in contact with a tolerant people will find a tendency on their part to compromise with the older faiths. Despite the tendency toward toleration in matters of religion, there have been many periods of persecution. In general, it may be said that persecutions have been instituted and carried on by the state, "either because a religious group had jeopardized the existing political order or because it was believed to have threatened the fundamental structure of society." Remembering, too, that the Chinese are polytheists, and

withal not a mystical people, but one whose righteousness consists, not in a compelling vision of God, but in a prudential regard for society a sense of civic and family duty, the practical difficulties which faced the Christian missionary may be understood.

On the other hand, Christianity has much in common with the prevailing faiths of Buddhism and Confucianism in its emphasis upon ethics, while the Kingdom of God has much that harmonizes with Confucius' ideal world order. The monastic orders and ascetic ideals, with elaborate rituals corresponding to those of the Nestorians, the Russian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic churches, were not entirely strange to the Chinese. "But Christianity, presenting as it did, a higher ethic embodied in the person of Jesus, could not tolerate polytheism, ancestor worship, and animism." Moreover, it appeared to be foreign and a disrupting force in the community.

Passing over the tradition that St. Thomas reached China in the first century, the history of Christian missions proper begins with the Nestorians, during the T'ang dynasty. They came to the height of their power and influence under the Mongol dynasty. It was during this dynasty that the Franciscan and Dominican orders began their work in China. With the fall of the Mongol dynasty, "Christianity disappeared from the horizon of the Chinese even more completely than it had after the fall of the T'ang."

After several unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Franciscans to reopen work in China, the Jesuits succeeded in establishing themselves. The coming of the Manchus helped them to gain a foothold. Despite periodic persecution Catholic missions flourished. The Edict of Toleration, March, 1692, came as a reward to the Jesuits for services rendered to the state.

The efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries to adapt themselves and their faith to the life and thought of the Chinese is of special interest to Protestants. "If a Chinese, particularly a scholarly Chinese, could accept the Christian faith and re-

main loyal to the more important institutions and practices of his nation, if he could feel that the new religion was akin to Chinese thought and teachings at their best, the church might achieve for itself a permanent and influential place in the life of the country." Should they wear Chinese dress? Should they use the Chinese language in sacraments? The Pope as early as 1615 gave his consent. What should be the word for God? Should ancestor worship and Confucian rites be condemned, or Christians be allowed to participate in them? There was much heated discussion, and the practice among the orders varied. At last Clement XI, in 1704, issued a decree forbidding Christians to take part in sacrifices to Confucius or to ancestors. One loophole was left: "Ceremonies which were purely civil or political and which had in them no taint of superstition were to be tolerated."

However, causes not related to ritual entered in to bring about a decline of Roman missions. There was the deep seated dislike of all foreigners, and the suspicion of European powers in particular. But, while the papal decree made the winning of adherents more difficult and rendered occasion for persecution, it did maintain high standards for those within the church.

Until the close of the eighteenth century Protestants were little concerned with the missionary enterprise. Following the religious awakening which began in the eighteenth century the English Baptists formed the first society. Robert Morrison was the first Protestant missionary to reach China, in 1807. Others followed. It was not until 1829 that the first American missionary sailed for China, David Abeel, under the American Board. The Presbyterians and Baptists soon entered the field.

A contrast of methods employed by Protestant and Catholic missionaries is of interest. The Roman Catholic, represented by the Jesuits, "took pains to learn the language, and were able with the help of native scholars to put their message in literary form acceptable to Chinese scholars." They were expert in Chinese etiquette. They emphasized the similarities

of their message to that of the classics. Public preaching being impossible because of persecution, they made their approach through catechists. Protestant missionaries employed preaching and personal interview. Much attention was paid to the preparation of Christian literature and the translation of the Scriptures. They opened schools and hospitals. Western education was freely offered. "Roman Catholics had few schools of the kind to attract those seeking Western knowledge, and placed scant emphasis on the preparation of literature." "Protestant schools were practically the only institutions in China where training in Western learning could be acquired."

China has stoutly resisted both political and religious penetration. They have often identified the two, and not without reason. The murder of the two Roman Catholic missionaries in 1897 gave the German government the excuse for seizing Tsingtau and Kiaochow, together with special privileges in Shantung. The imperial rescript of 1899 which made it possible for Roman Catholic missionaries to approach Chinese officials led to the priests and vicars assuming official insignia. In many places both Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries were guilty of intruding themselves into court and sitting beside the magistrate to hear a case between a Christian and a non-Christian.

The Boxer Uprising was only a sudden outburst of indignation long pent up in the hearts of the Chinese. It represents the convergence of the forces of unrest. "The causes of the disturbances were many. Practically all the factors that made for unrest throughout the Empire were present—anger at the seizure of territory by the powers; resentment against the interference of missionaries in lawsuits; irritation at the acquisition of property in the interior by missions, at the proscription by missionaries of many time-honored Chinese institutions and customs, and at the Christians who embraced these disorganizing teachings; offenses by foreigners, including tactless missionaries, against Chinese susceptibilities; the scandal occasioned by misunderstood Christian customs; the dis-

content of those thrown out of employment by the railway, the steamboat, and the post office."

While the powers did much by their punitive measures to undo what the missionaries by their martyrdom had accomplished, still the ultimate result was for good. The church turned its eyes toward China, and quickened its effort. The Boxer Uprising marks a turning point in the history of China, and so in the history of Chinese missions. Up to this time China has successfully resisted the advancement of Western civilization, including Western religion. The uprising marked the victory of foreign powers and the defeat and humiliation of the imperial government. Resistance to Western culture crumbled. The younger generation was ready for rapid reform.

Since that uprising Protestant missions have flourished, interrupted only by the recent revolution, accompanied by a revival of anteforeign, anti-Christian propaganda, which caused most of the missionaries to be withdrawn from the interior. By 1927 many had returned to their posts, and since then others have returned, together with new re-enforcements.

In his summary and conclusion the author contrasts the work of the two great bodies of Christian missions, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, pointing out eleven points of difference. Being two distinct religions, it is not surprising that their objectives differ so widely, hence their methods. The two bodies have had little or no dealing with each other. "Catholics have concentrated upon building up a Christian community: Protestants divided their energies between that objective and attempting to influence the nation as a whole."

The leavening process has worked very slowly in China. The lump has been very large and difficult to penetrate, and there has been lacking that warmth of atmosphere which makes for the rapid germinization of truth. The process is still going on, and some of the results are summed up as: "Renewed spiritual life in hundreds of thousands of lives; the development of national leaders, educated and prepared to represent

their nation; re-enforcement of Chinese ethical standards and quickening of the Chinese public conscience; heightened regard for the individual; influence upon non-Christian faiths, reforming and disintegrating, and the recognition of Christianity by the cults."

The missionaries have been the interpreters of the Occident to China, and have become the interpreters of China to the Occident. With all their mistakes and clumsy fumbling at times, their influence has been for the best. The missionary has done for China that which China will one day appreciate more fully.

One notable feature of the book is the summary at the close of each chapter.

The author has done an exhaustive piece of work. Every student of missions owes him a deep debt of gratitude. The book will be accepted as authoritative.

ROBERT H. ROBINSON.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL: WHAT IS IT? ⁶

THE AUTHOR of this work is a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and writes with the incisiveness of the trained lawyer. The reader will have no difficulty in following him, and will hardly escape being convinced by his reasoning. He already is well known as an interpreter of Bible doctrines and subjects; *Patmos Visions*, *The Seventy Weeks*, and *Which Version?* being titles in the list of his discussions.

The present volume, *The Hope of Israel*, is symptomatic of forming judgments and settled conclusions on several major matters of Christian eschatology, as, for instance, the final spiritual state of the world, the premillenarian theory of a temporally restored Israel, and the actual disposition of the communities of Israelites now existing, or that shall be existing at the final determinative of eschatology. The book con-

⁶ *The Hope of Israel: What Is It?* By Philip Mauro. Boston: Hamilton Bros. 1929. Pp. 261.

sists of twenty more or less brief chapters; but these chapters are plentifully supported by apposite texts of Scripture, in the handling of which the author displays remarkable aptitude. As already suggested, the style of this work is strong, rugged, and well adapted to effective argument. The author carries his conclusions with him. Unlike some writers, he fully explored his theme before adventuring upon its treatment.

A statement of the *motif* of the book will enable the reader to follow the brief review which our space permits. It is this. A detail of the teachings of the familiar premillenarianism supposes the restoration of Israel to temporal empire in Jerusalem. To this restoration extensive, if not universal, dominion is allowed; and its fortunes are variously related by dispensationist interpreters to the thousand year reign of Christ on earth. It is not only to combat and extinguish this claim that the author has set out, but it is also to show that another people, and another reign, are meant, and that this reign is to be another *where* than is conceived of by the supporters of the dispensationist theory. The subject people of this reign, according to our author, are "the election," composed of both Jews and Gentiles, on the basis of personal faith in the Messiah.

The Lord of this reign is to be the Christ, not as the temporal and hereditary Son of David, but as David's spiritual Son; and more, even as him whom David adored as Lord. The realm in which this reign is to be realized is not Jerusalem and its region, but the realm of all spiritual relations and experiences. The question is not *when* the millennium shall come, but *where*. Proper attention to this thought would cure a thousand errors.

The subtitle, *What Is It?* that is, *What is the hope of Israel?* describes the course of the author's argument. An appeal is made to the Old Testament prophecies concerning the rehabilitation of Israel, after centuries of suffering and dispersion. Also careful assessment is made of these prophecies as they passed under the interpreting treatment of the Lord

and His apostles. The result is that there is found neither in the Old Testament nor in the New any warrant for a restored temporal Kingdom of Israel as part of the Messianic scheme. The candid reader will be impressed that the use made of the proof texts has established the author's contention.

At first glance it does not appear to be a matter of sufficient moment to warrant so circumstantial and laborious an attempt as that which has been undertaken; but the issue involved has run to disturbing length, and may be in the way of doing so again. It will have little standing with those who read the *The Hope of Israel*. For myself, as I suppose is the case with the majority of Christian believers and students, the matter of a temporal Israel in Christian eschatology has not seemed to be reflected from the face of prophecy, either of the Old Testament or the New. But it has seemed a thought made tenable by the terms of prophecy that the Jews, at last, might be gathered to a centrality in Palestine, as the means of a restored nationality and race consciousness, leading finally to their conversion to the faith of the true Messiah. This supposes the "commonwealth of Israel" as only a segment of the universal Kingdom of Christ, whose throne is not in Jerusalem, but in "the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Personally, I choose to think of the present Zionist movement as prophetically tending to that end.

H. M. DU BOSE.